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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY 1917

THE PREACHER AND THE PUBLICIST

THE connexion between the redeeming Cross and national politics is one that has been regarded as so remote and indirect that to trace it looks like a piece of exuberant, not to say intrusive, theology—and a theology crude, forced, and fantastic. To the literary or journalist type of mind—mobile, sympathetic, and one degree above the obvious—it must always seem so. But there are minds that do not find it so easy to live in compartments, and brains that cannot let the right lobe be ignorant of what the left is doing. Of course it is not easy to put things interestingly or impressively, but it is still more hard and unwelcome to think thoroughly, and to bottom a moral situation. Even when we leave Fleet Street behind us, there are still minds, less agile perhaps but more powerful, who also refuse to take the fence between religion and affairs. They jib when they are put at the jump from redemption to reform. Why does this connexion between the Cross and politics seem so fantastic, even to such people? It is largely because the Cross has been debased into a device for the rescue of an elect and for salvation by private bargain, instead of being viewed as the historic focus of the whole moral world, the grand Act of Eternity, the last cement of society, and the fountain of the historic Kingdom of God. The ethic has been theologized out of it. What ethic is left us is Aristotelian. It is a fatal anomaly. The Christian life schooled for centuries in a

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pagan ethic ! No wonder Christianity is demoralized. Also because, on the other side, politics, led by men reared in this pagan ethic, men there trained in conduct more aesthetic than ethical, more ruled by the idea of the noble than the humble—politics so led have been regarded as a game or an expediency, and not as the moral conduct of a Christian society.

But theology has changed much of late, and so have politics ; and the change goes on. Both are (or were) becoming moralized. Theology, under Ritschl, has been so far Kantianized that it has become a matter of the practical reason instead of the pure. It has become experimental instead of conceptual or even idealist. It has become, under Maurice (except for the idealists and the mystical intuitionists), a matter of the conscience. In so far, to Kantianize is to Christianize. It is to moralize. It is even to evangelize. It is to make the central Christian issue one of action more than thought, an issue with the conscience and its guilt, instead of the reason and its truth, or even the heart and its affections. Christianity is the religion of moral redemption, and not of egoist relief. Were that truth realized it would change the face of society.

On the other hand, politics have been much moralized. The influence of the Churches that are under the Cromwellian tradition has been great in this direction. It was supported by such influences as Mill represents, and perhaps even more in some ways by the Positivists. It found its most powerful lever for the British public in Gladstone. And it has had a strong ally in the school of public ethic represented, if not created, by T. H. Green. The war is going, among many other things, to carry the process forward with all the weight lent by our public action for righteousness, so costly, sorrowful, and sobering. We cannot have made such sacrifices as ours for the world without a great effect on our public morale. To these political forces must be added the great impetus given for the last generation to social questions. We have

become impatient of huge social anomalies, by perceiving that they are also moral anomalies, remediable by conviction and not inevitable like earthquakes. The dismal science itself has become a part of ethics—thanks to Ruskin, on the one hand, and economists like Cairnes on the other.

So it is of good omen that the principle of our relation to God (or our theology) should have been moralized concurrently with the principle of our relation to each other (which is politics, home and foreign). I hope that when these two new tendencies have converged still more it will no longer seem absurd to say that the righteousness of the Cross is the fundamental principle of sound politics—at least to those who believe in a historic kingdom of God. It is not absurd, it is good historic truth (even if it is not obvious), to say that Calvin is the founder of modern democracy and modern liberty. It is perfectly sober and provable to say that the doctrine of election is the principle of elections. We are free with our elections only because of the work of men who were moved to reform (if not to regenerate) the national life by a Christianity which turned wholly on the doctrine of election. The freedom of God means more for history than the freedom of man; and that doctrine of election was for our Puritans the doctrine of the freedom of God, which is more important than man's freedom because it contains and guarantees it. Free grace is a greater moral power than freedom of conscience because it creates it. It moralizes love itself. The loving and genial Luther has ended in the Germany that now is; the holy and austere Calvin has ended in the free West, in moral democracy, in the New Humanity of public righteousness or philanthropic kindness. The moral earnestness of the holy must always keep in hand the spiritual tenderness of love. Love will make a fraternity, but it is holy love and its grace that make a divine kingdom. The Humanity that grows on holy love is a humaner thing at last than that which feeds only on hearty love.

Well, if that is sound history and not fantasy, it need not

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continue to seem absurd to say that the doctrine of the Cross must slowly become the foundation and guide of public policy, as the theologians and the politicians alike are converted and become as moral beings. For of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. That doctrine, newly understood, will produce a public ethos which will moralize even diplomacy and democracy. For the Cross is the foundation of the Kingdom of God ; and that Kingdom is the divine dominant, the moral entelechy, of the chaotic politics of the nations, however latent it may be. It is the middle term which modulates theology into politics. It is the integrating idea in the passage of the one into the other. The Cross is there to found the Kingdom of God ; the Kingdom of God is there as the dominant and the goal of nations and their policy. Their final goal is also their deepest ground. The formula which mediates the transition from the Cross to history is the righteousness of the Kingdom of God ; whose crucial point and creative centre is the final victory of public, historical, and eternal righteousness won on the holy Cross of God's grace to godless men. The Cross of history is the focus of the world's moral tragedy. That makes the righteousness of the Cross the final measure of human affairs, and the standard of all conduct, public as well as private (though perhaps in different ways). The Kingship of a God of holy love (that is, love absolutely, mystically righteous) is the only secret of social peace. And it will be overturn, overturn, till that come, whose right it is to reign.

The precise relation of the Cross and the Kingdom of God has been a matter of much discussion. When we think of the Church's relation to society outside it, it is a theme that has made as much talk as the relation of Gospel and Sacraments has done when the Church's thought turned in on itself. Many were attracted at a time by the view of Ritschl, who described the Church not as a circle with one centre, the Cross, but as an ellipse with two centres—the Cross and the Kingdom. I am afraid, however, that such a

conception would mean practically dividing the Church into two parties—the ethical and the spiritual, the moral and the mystical. Practically it would mean that, rather than the polarization of the Church's one light of the world. To tell the truth, one suspects mathematical (or even biological) images for a living and spiritual organism like either the Gospel or the Church. It misleads us to describe the living body of Christ by any figure, either circle or ellipse, where the centres are defined in relation to the circumference, rather than by reference to something that gives meaning both to circumference and centre. We should not define Christ or His Gospel by relation to the Church, but all three terms in relation to the Kingship of God. It is impossible to believe that when Christ came to the crowning work of His person in the Cross He dropped the dominance of that Kingdom which had been up to then the supreme interest of His thought, speech, and act. Surely all was done to effect the reality of the Kingdom of God. The Cross was the culmination of all He had done in that interest by speech or work before. It sealed it all, and fixed it all, and glorified it. If we are to talk of centres we have but one, and it remains the Cross. But it is the kind of Cross which founded the Kingdom, not the Cross which only rescued a remnant of penitents. It was the Cross which gathered up the moral universe in its one eternal crisis; it was not simply a spiritual *coup* of divine skill, like the Ark. We must keep to the centrality of the Cross if we keep the centrality of the conscience for society, if society is a moral organism—though it is a Cross more ethical than forensic, and, therefore, more humane and universal. If the only permanent State is the moral State, then the righteousness of States is determined at the focus of all moral power in the Cross. The world of righteousness is a family of States, a community of communities, in the Kingdom of God which the Cross made. That community is the moral substratum of sound States, it is their latent *nisus* if they are ethical at all. I repeat that being their goal it is also their deep ground

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and creative principle. They are all travelling with that Kingdom. It is their 'truth' (in the Hegelian sense of the word). They only 'arrive' as they get there. The Kingdom of God, and not the Idea (Idealism is become more dangerous than materialism, as misleading better people), is the moral immanent of society. It is not immanent reason but immanent conscience, and, by a consequence, the immanent purpose of Grace. The only deep and final public ethic is the Christian. The same moral power which made the Church must remake Society.

It is one of the most disquieting symptoms of our moral inadequacy for the tremendous situation round us that, amid all the able writing by politicians and publicists about its causes and consequences, the idea of the Kingdom of God is as if it were not. Whereas the spell for many of mediaeval thought, philosophical or social, is that it has round it the atmosphere of the Kingdom, the breath of a divine society, the *aura* of a spiritual universe. One does not ask from publicists the theology of the Kingdom of God if only they would work confessedly from within it, if only they savoured of it and its authority. But if it is ignored by the general mind, which these admirable writers expound, if nobody will speak for it, it takes the situation in hand and speaks for itself, as in Europe to-day. And it speaks very loud, with a word that pierces the joints and thrills the very marrow of the world—except in so far as the world is down with President Wilson where they 'have nothing to do with the causes of this war.' I should not like to be unjust, and I quite admit that the leading publicists of the day, in so far as they have departed both from the *laissez faire* of Bentham and the Prussianism of Carlyle, do have a certain moral atmosphere. But it is of a very rarefied kind, and, indeed, hardly perceptible except by sensitive instruments—if it is not, indeed, like the ether, an inference only. And what we need is a good deal more than that. We need a tabernacle set up amid the people. We need a rainbow

round a throne. We need a new conception of sovereignty, of authority, and of an authority not multiple but single. We need, what has been the vast asset of Conservatism from Burke onwards, a sense of government resting on a religious basis. We need a religion that does as much for authority as it does for liberty, *i.e.*, a religion that guarantees the liberty because it creates it. Yet in these valuable publicists we have an ethic, more realistic than ample, much straitened in itself, and unequal to the present historic crisis of the moral world of souls. They want to give organized effect to a new social psychology, to make that new science what neither science nor art can be—life's guide. Their programme has not the note of life's mastery. It is dim and groping. It is Fabian, cunctatorial, tentative. It has nothing really imperative in its ideal. It discusses measures, it does not wield powers. It is 'painful' (in the old sense of the word) rather than powerful, and more concerned than commanding. It casts about to discover 'cadres for a communal mind,' which mind it yet cannot produce. It seeks the mobilization of the earth-power. It has a 'concern,' I say, but it has not a Gospel, nor a lift, nor a real lead. It deals with devices (like syndicalism) which are not influences (like the Kingdom). Its fibre is short because its last view of life is not Eternal Life. It has not the moral imagination due to the total moral situation. If it had the public would not understand it. They would not know what was meant by words like these, which the Ironsides would have understood quite well—that Eternity is a closer interest than progress, that the measure and charter of progress is Eternity. The present crisis is treated in every way except as the judgement of God. That is not included with the conspiring tendencies of history. Where it is so treated, it is too often by minor men, with popular notions of judgement as mere vengeance, no historic perspective or ecumenical horizon, and no power to track in affairs the principles whose due story would be the great book we wait for—a history of the Kingdom of God coping

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with the tragedy of a full-blooded race. The publicist mind is very competent, but it is more at home with social psychology than the moral. About the psychology of sin it knows nothing. Its corresponding literature deals but with the psychology of passion which resents control and flouts obedience. It knows the phenomena of wickedness, but not the nature of it, and it has not an appreciation of the way sin blights reform, baffles help, and stops progress at a blank wall. It does not allow for what the greatest minds, from Aristotle to Kant, have found to be the intractable mass in society that thwarts all efforts for its good—the wickedness of human nature; which, however, the Kingdom of God does deal with fundamentally by redeeming judgement and forgiving grace. These earnest workers are idealists who ‘start from premisses about the human mind altogether which are too bare and too jejune. They start from a rational faculty armed with a few simple principles of “the common good,” or “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” Whereas a full philosophy should start from a full man armed with “all thoughts, all passions, all delights, whatever fills this mortal frame.”’¹

Perhaps that myopia of our leading minds is God’s jealous way with things. He keeps the real power in His own hand, as the full vision is under His own eye. Those who chiefly discuss and manage great affairs do not often grasp their final purpose and bearing.

We orb into the perfect star
We saw not when we dwelt therein.

God reserves to Himself the creative evolution of the Kingdom out of our pre-occupation with the order of the day, in order that that which turns our action into the Kingdom should be really His own gift, as the Kingdom at bottom is. The greatest results are not those we intend. Cyrus did not know he was the Lord’s servant; Luther did not contemplate

¹ Barker: *Political Thought from Spencer Onwards*. Williams & Norgate, p. 82.

Protestantism ; it grew on him. The United States did not fight each other for the abolition of slavery ; God forced it on them. We went out into this war not knowing where we went, and we know little now, except that we are in the way of humane righteousness, along which alone the Kingdom of God can come. But yet if our social speculators worshipped the Kingdom more we should have more interest in their thought, and more confidence in their guiding.

The great collision of the time is now no longer the struggle of faith with materialism, but its conflict with idealism. The *débâcle* in the present war is not the collapse of a materialist civilization only, but still more of an idealist—as is shown by the place taken in it by Kultur. The best Germans are men honestly obsessed with the notion that they are the trustees of an ideal intrinsic to the world, its immanent spirit, intent, and destiny. But in cherishing the ideal thus they are not alone. It is the note of our own culture as well. The ideals may differ, and the thoroughness of belief in them, but what the nations have in common is the notion that the divine business and progress of man is to realize outwardly an ideal which is imbedded in the very structure of Humanity, and is quite able to fend for itself if we will but set it free. We have only to trepan the skull, so to say, remove the pressures, and give it scope. Some thinkers take this for granted, and they busy themselves, whether in theory or practice, with the surgery required by their vigorous but unlucky patient. Others make an apostolate of preaching this ideal, and trying to get mankind to trust its inner self and its glorious goal. Now religiously this brings them into collision not so much with God but with Christ. There is no Atheism now, and Agnosticism is dead, while Pantheism turns to mysticism. The theistic position holds the field in some form or another. A belief in God is often indicated when it is not stated. But the real crux is the place and power of Christ. It is not from Him that the view of God is drawn, or of God's relation to the

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world. Our culture is like our army—it is religious, but it is not Christian. And its religious reserve is masterly. The immanent and excellent Idea is not incompatible, I say, with a corresponding God; but it owes nothing, owns nothing, has nothing to say about Christ in any way which makes an authority of Him. In so far as He seems to accept and bless the natural man at his ideal best He is welcome. Much countenance is lent by His distinguished spirit to the self-confidence of Humanity. But our idealism is something which we take to Him, not which we owe to Him. We start with pure nature and call on Christ to consecrate it. We are married in church. Jesus, it is said, had a note of joy for the ground tone of His life in such a way that He had the most sympathetic affinity and blessing for the young prelude of it on the natural plane. The joy of living, and all the passions of the good brown earth, are only the Christian joy in its young stage. The Kingdom of God is but the kingdom of man come to its own. And the love of God is but romantic love raised to its highest power, as His fatherhood is the natural father magnified.

But there is no romantic love in the New Testament, though there is the sanctification of it. And Jesus knows nothing of an ideal inside the world which it was His work to realize and bring to its own. The Bible does not idealize man, it does more to condemn him. The Kingdom of God was not the idealizing of the world, but rather its regeneration. It was its new birth. It was a supernatural thing, a gift to it, its redemption. It was a far more direct gift of God than His mere nurture of man's best promise. For it was God coming. Natural love may suggest God very impressively, but it is only holy love that reveals Him. He may *speak* in hearty love, but it is only in holy love that He *comes*.

Truly Christ's Kingdom of God was not out of organic connexion with the world. The doctrine of the resurrection on the threshold of its immortality shows this, however we

interpret that doctrine in detail. If the Kingdom was not the idealizing of natural relations, yet it was far from indifferent to them, as Christ's teaching (on divorce, for instance) proves. But the passage from the one to the other was not an evolution. It was not a process. It was much more in the nature of a crisis—as the eschatology of Jesus indicates—a crisis which corresponds with the extent of our departure from the ideal. That interval was not simply distance, it was antagonism. It was not slowness but sin. It was in the nature of a crisis, a revolt. And by a crisis it had to be undone. It is by a revolution that we leave the kingdom of evil and enter the kingdom of God. And here we meet the rock on which Idealism wrecks, and the most able social thought founders—sin. Christ understood sin; our thinkers do not. They are afraid of being called professors of theology. But that is why they do not understand Christ. Their preoccupation with the *process* of progress dulls them to His engrossment with the *work* of regeneration. They are full of man's untoward fate; but He does man more honour; He is full of man's guilt. His crisis is deeper than their process. For more divine power is needed to re-create man than to realize his ideals. And it makes more of man to say he needs a new Creator than to say he needs but a realizer.

The world crisis of the hour is therefore due to the falling out of our civilization with a Christ rather than a God. We fall out, not with the idea of a God, but with a God wholly given in Christ, a God whose revelation is real and final only in Christ and Christ's redemption. We are willing to take a God reflected in man's spiritual progress, in his religious instincts, in his mystic intuitions, in the growth of ideas, and in their witness to an ideal Deity who put the movements there. But we boggle at a God who was not reflected but who came, who did not teach, nor only shine, nor only breathe Himself in, but who acted, and whose action was for good and all, was the supreme moral crisis of history. The Kingdom of

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God, we thought, might dispense with the Kingdom of Christ and the rule of the Cross, which was not more than an incident fine and luminous, the grandest of tributes to the ideal. We have substituted the ideal for the holy, and the jargon of the ideal for the concepts of faith. This has done much mischief among some preachers. They become sentimental ideologues instead of loving apostles. And a feeble idealism is more feeble than a feeble faith. In consequence the Philistine has come to be more dreaded than the sinner, and the pilgrim of love more prized than the child of Grace. Poet, artist, and philosopher are heeded as are not apostle and saint. Spiritual pilgrimages and soul adventures take the place of the great good fight of faith. And the whole of our ethic is becoming but a piece of aesthetic, it is seemly rather than excellent, because it did not start morally from the holiness of God, or because it dwelt *ad nauseam* on the beauty of holiness, and not on its saving righteousness and its miracle of judging grace. Now there is no person so difficult to convert and dislodge as the idealist. The Prince of Darkness is a gentleman like that. And when society becomes thus idealist there is no dealing with it except by judgement; which is the way of the Spirit, who convinces of sin, of righteousness, and of judgement. The present judgement is the witness that to faith idealism is a greater danger than materialism. The war is due to the ideal of a materialist people. For materialism can become an ideal, but it can never become a faith. It can become a Realpolitik and a Weltpolitik, but not a moral kingdom.

I will farther illustrate this lack of moral atmosphere in our ablest treatment of public things. Mr. Clutton Brock recently pointed out, in one of those fine *Times* articles of his, that the treatment of beauty was a very different thing according as you simply felt it, with the poetry of Meredith, or adored it, with the poetry of Wordsworth. It is one thing to be deeply and finely impressed by it, it is another to wait on it for a whole

lifetime at life's deep centre, and to do so with observance rather than regret. It is one thing to love beauty, it is another to suffuse and sanctify that love with awe. It is one thing to preach love, or be moved by the preaching of it, and another thing to worship love as holy at the temple's inner shrine, and dwell in the bosom of a holy God all the year. It is one thing to delight in either beauty or love, another thing to desire it with all our heart, and cleave to it wholly, and wait on it at the posts of its doors when its secret does not come out to cheer us for many a day. It is one thing to enjoy religion, another to serve it. It is one thing to preach and profane love every week, it is another to speak of love only with that rare, sure, and holy note which never ceases thereafter to preach itself to those who have ears to hear. It is one thing to enjoy religion and another to adore God. Love is the religion we enjoy, holy love the God we adore. The religion we enjoy is a delight, but the God we adore we desire and we serve when the spirit of delight comes but rarely. The one is egoist, the other obedient; the one fades, the other goes on. On the one line immortality is doubtful, on the other it is sure. For God as I enjoy Him is but a part of fleeting me; but of God as I adore Him I am a part. As I glorify Him I enjoy Him for ever; as I enjoy Him I enjoy myself—for how long I do not know.

Well, to return and apply to truth all this I have said of beauty or love. What we miss in so many able thinkers upon national and public things is, first, moral imagination—adequacy in the matter of their thought to the spiritual compass and destiny of the moral world; and, second, adoration of the truth as it is there. There is nothing in their order of truth that tempts them or us to adore in connexion with the destiny of society. That note of worship is lacking as a penumbra to thought. There is none of the majesty of the Kingdom of God, nor much commensurate with the grandeur of the historic situation. What is felt is the shock to Humanity and to progress. The dynasts of the hour

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are not set in a solemn world, as are even those pawns of the great irresponsible 'It' which Mr. Thomas Hardy never fails to realize behind them all. He never ceases to realize that power, and fear it, even if he cannot adore. But our war thinkers and social prognosticators are not on that plane. Their mind is truncated. They are socialists, economists, eugenisists, social psychologists, critics, constructives, only they are not creatives: they see nothing *sub specie aeternitatis*: they do not measure with the angel's rod. They are a splendid committee of ways and means, without an apparent sense of the reality of the spiritual universe, and the dominancy of the moral. I can say nothing about their souls, but their mind has not a religion that makes itself felt. They are strong and good on civics, but weak and dumb on celestials. They are amateurs, or less, in the prophet's region of the purpose and Kingdom of God. They have not the *flair* for its track on the wide waste of time. They have the social sense more than the historic.

Nor can one say, on the other side, that the Church has the tracking instinct, or the real catholic horizon. Augustine had it in the 'City of God.' And later men have had it. Calvin and his peers had. But it has faded. And it has faded as the crucial moral meaning of the Cross for history faded, as the Church's conscience grew insular, sectarian, conventicular, individualist

Taking the cackle of their little burgh
For all the mighty murmur of the world.

This change took place as the religious passion came to be the passion to get many into the pale rather than to get the Kingdom out into the day. Or it came as righteousness became personal security rather than public conduct, private experience rather than corporate faith, or the stoic integrity of the individual rather than the social conscience of the Church. If the nations are to serve the Kingdom the note of righteousness must return, in the great solidary sense in which it was set up for ever in Christ's Cross as the creation

of the New Humanity. The Church must go back and find a new note of public righteousness there. It must feel itself to be much more than a compilation of the converted. It must find there more than either private pietisms or sacramental prerogatives. If Christian people here tried to love each other more (whom they do see) and forced themselves less to love the other side of the world (whom they do not), and if instead of a love for other nations which is psychologically impossible they would give them love's national form as righteousness, the Kingdom would be nearer; and it would be a Kingdom of mystic love still. For it would arise in the holy. It would flow from the mystic righteousness of the Cross of holy love and grace. It would cultivate the mysticism of action and conscience instead of substance and being. The Church may live on love as kindness; but the State lives on love as righteousness. And the Cross covers both. Both the kind and the stately, both sympathy and righteousness, mercy and holiness, meet in the Cross of a love which before all else is holy. It is sacrificial because holy. And its sacrifice is holiness atoning to the holy, and so restoring righteousness on the scale of the reconciled universe.

I have spoken more than once of the Cross as setting up the Kingdom. Let this not be misunderstood. It does not mean that Jesus invented the idea of the Kingdom. He did not. It was part of the furniture He took over with the house of Israel. It was that house's most prized possession. But it could not become more than an idea with Israel's resources. If I may change the image, no Israelite had arisen who could draw that sword. Yet it was Israel's greatest legacy to the son of her hope. When I say Christ set that Kingdom up I mean He drew the sword. He forced the final issue. He secured the victory. He did not pitch the battle of good and evil but He so entered and so ended it that He did two things—He hallowed God's name and He condemned sin in the flesh.

First, He hallowed God's name in action, He met His

holiness, He realized His righteousness on the whole scale of Humanity. It was the problem of Pharisaism He took up—how to satisfy God in such a way as to deserve the Kingdom. How should the people, which before God stood for the world, so commend itself to God as to be worthy of the gift of a Messiah, and take its imperial place on the earth? The Kingdom of God was to be based on the satisfaction of God. Pharisaism said the manner of satisfaction was God's law met by Israel's observance; Christ said it was God's holy person met by personal holiness as love and trust of His judgement grace. Their view of righteousness differed; that was the great and fatal collision. For them it was preceptual and compliant; 'follow divine injunctions to the death, obey orders'; it was military and quaker. For Him it was evangelical and responsive; 'meet the Grace of God, in His forgiveness for a broken law, with faith and love; that is the new righteousness.' For them the ideal was conduct and efficiency, for Him it was soul, personality, and its free action of worship and obedience. It was on that foundation He set up the Kingdom—not preceptually, which is Pharisaism and Antichrist, but creatively; not by sermons or directions, but by the Cross of Redemption. This language of Redemption does not cover abstract theological process but concrete moral action on the whole scale of society at its moral centre. He set the Kingdom up on the practical (i.e. experimental) hallowing of God's name, by presenting to the eternal holiness of God a universal and public holiness in His own sinless person and its moral action in a society with the God of the race. The holiness of God was the fundamental righteousness. Reproduce it in historic conditions. That was the Kingdom. The righteousness between man and man which is at the root of the State is itself rooted in a deeper idea of righteousness—the righteousness of each and all before a personally holy God. Ethic is founded in religion, public ethic in universal religion, social reform in moral redemption. So finally righteousness meant the righteousness of God, His

holiness answered by history and not by piety alone, though not without it. Religion does mean politics. Man's righteousness was to honour that concrete holiness in spirit and in fact, in his soul's worship and his social state. It was so to satisfy such a God, One so mystic, so moral. God knew no other satisfaction than that of holiness by holiness, public and private, in the same moral and spiritual kind. Now that satisfaction, that perfect hallowing of a holy God under the conditions of sin was offered by the historic Cross on the scale of the race. The Cross was therefore the establishing of the Kingdom, because it was the creation in Humanity of a righteousness that reflected the absolute, holy righteousness of God.

But, second, Christ, as the moral triumph of His Cross, also condemned sin in the flesh. He broke the evil power. He condemned in the flesh (*i.e.* in history) sin as the principle of the kingdom of evil defying the Kingdom of God among the kingdoms of the world. He effected its defeat in the spiritual interior of history. He was not the first to pit against each other the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of evil; but He did destroy in principle the prince of evil. He established the Kingdom of God, which had thenceforth only to spread. He started the new creation on its evolving way. He brought to a head the one moral conflict of the world, nay, of existence. He settled man's one vital issue with God, and won for God His standing controversy with man.

Now if these are moral realities and powers, how is it that the practical abilities of Christendom consent to ignore them as they do? It is because the Church has made themes of them instead of powers, and lost their reality—some in riches and some in rhetoric. The action in the Cross has become dimoralized and therefore desocialized. Its chief power has become individualist, egoist, forensic, and pietist.

One last remark. I have recognized how much invaluable ability and insight goes to-day to the diagnosis and therapeutic of society by publicists who not only do not put the

Kingdom of God on their banner, but who do not betray an interest in it as either God's or Christ's. It does not interest them as anything beyond the realization of the best that it is in man to be. And what I would say is that I do not expect from this tremendous crisis and our mastery of it too much in the interest of God's Kingdom. Man will have done so much for himself. The wonder of England's resource will leave little room for the wonder of God's grace. The conscience, courage, skill, and wisdom of man will have proved such a match for inhuman destiny that men will be too little disposed to owe their deliverance to God. When we are delivered from fate we are not yet delivered from man and his self-sufficiency. He will seem to many his own deliverer. And he will not have the knowledge nor the insight to ask how the courage was reared that rose in our soldier youth, how the conscience was bred, how the wisdom grew, and the power to use the resource we had stored.

Judgement does not convince us of the Kingdom of God ; but the Kingdom of God is the only key to judgement ; for it stands on the last judgement of the Cross, which is the key of all providence. And our failure is that our preachers are tempted to be pietists of the Church and do not become publicists of the Kingdom of God in the Cross as thoroughly as the publicists are of Humanity.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE GERMANS IN CHINA

THE practically unexploited land of China has proved a great fascination to the German, but it was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that Germany seriously began the attempt to wrest from Great Britain her commercial supremacy in the Far East. Germany's first endeavour was to ingratiate herself with the Chinese in 1894-5, when by her menacing attitude towards Japan she compelled that country to relinquish the first-fruits of victory after the Chino-Japanese war. Although assisted by other European powers, it was the German Government which finally compelled Japan to restore to China the Liaotung peninsula lost in the late war. Germany's next move was to make a worthless compact with Great Britain in respect to our commercial sphere of influence in the Yangtze Valley; a compact which profited only our insinuating competitor.

For some years Germany had been seeking to obtain a good natural harbour off the China coast, where she could establish a commercial port and strong naval base; her chance came when during much anti-foreign agitation two German missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church were murdered in the province of Shan-tung. This opportunity was eagerly seized. Germany demanded and obtained the cession of Kiao-chau Bay in the same province, together with a heavy monetary compensation. Since obtaining possession of Kiao-chau the German Government has spent many millions of marks on this Shan-tung possession, and it has been their ambition to make this port rival Hong Kong in splendour, and surpass Shanghai in commercial prosperity. They engineered wide and magnificent roads, built many handsome Government buildings, hotels and private residences, as well as great wharves and commodious

warehouses. Kiao-chau was the one German naval base in the Far East, and they spared neither expense nor engineering ability to make it as impregnable as its natural possibilities allowed. Everything was executed on the most approved methods of German thoroughness, and with pardonable pride they fondly called their Chinese possession 'Little Germany.'

As a health resort Kiao-chau possessed many attractions for the jaded European. It was cool and clean, and being under European government was a safe place to which foreign residents in the East could send their wives and children. As a commercial centre it has been more or less of a German failure. Shanghai is too central and far too firmly established to fear competition from the German port on the bleak Shan-tung promontory. Not even German patriotism could induce her successful merchants to leave their flourishing centres in Shanghai for the problematic successes offered by a paternal Government at Kiao-chau.

The possession of this strategic naval base in Shan-tung virtually meant German dominance throughout the entire province. The Nanking-Tientsin railroad passes through Shan-tung from south to north, and is joined at the provincial capital by the Kiao-chau line running east to west. That part of the railroad which runs through Shan-tung was financed and built by German enterprise, and was staffed by German officials. By these and similar means the 'peaceful penetration' of Shan-tung had proceeded rapidly; German influence was all-pervading, and the independence of the province was quickly passing away when the European war broke out which changed the whole aspect of affairs.

Japan has never forgiven Germany for the part she played in depriving her of the spoils of victory after the Chino-Japanese war in 1894. She waited twenty years to avenge herself, and her time came in the autumn of 1914 when she wrested Kiao-chau from the common enemy and Germany saw her Shan-tung venture disappear amidst the

'Banzais' of the Japanese army. Of all the colonial losses that Germany has sustained the loss of Kiao-chau is one of the most serious. She has not only lost territory and a great naval base, but, what is far more important in the Orient, and especially in China, she has suffered the loss of great prestige, and that at the hands of the little Island Empire.

With the exception of small concessions in the three cities of Hankow, Tientsin, and Newchwang, Germany is now homeless in China. She continues, however, to hold property on the other European concessions, and it is one of the strangest anomalies of the war, that while English merchants in China are forbidden to trade with the Germans, these enemies of ours are actually living at the treaty ports on British territory, and owning or renting British houses. Our Government has decided that as the concessions are only 'leased' to Great Britain it would be a breach of international law and a violation of the sovereign rights of China, to have these German residents and merchants interned, but the question might well be asked, What would have become of China's sovereign rights had the Germans instead of the British held naval supremacy? In this case we know that international law would have become a dead letter, and every British subject, merchant and missionary, would have been seized and interned at the very outbreak of hostilities. We have, therefore, the amazing spectacle of German merchants trading unhindered with Chinese and neutrals on British concessions. They own great warehouses and are storing immense quantities of multifarious merchandise ready to be shipped to the Fatherland as soon as peace is declared. The Chinese producers are to be paid for the cargoes when these are freighted, and the native merchants have been repeatedly assured that peace was coming 'within a few weeks.'

In the light of subsequent events it is an astonishment to know that two of the largest hotels in Hong Kong, the Grand and the Peak, were both licensed to Germans, who

continued to hold their licences for twelve months after the war began. The Peak Hotel, as its name conveys, is situated at the summit of the hill on which Hong Kong is built, and thus dominates the whole of the harbour, and the sea beyond for many miles. The Point Galle Hotel at Colombo was also licensed to a German, who was found to have a wireless installation on his roof, and was caught sending wireless messages to the *Emden*. Is it hard to surmise what happened from the Peak Hotel at Hong Kong in the early days of the war? British official acumen must have been sadly deficient to have ever permitted a German to lease an hotel which dominated one of our greatest naval bases and the third commercial port in the world.

In Hong Kong the German had the entrée of the two best British Clubs—the famous Hong Kong Club and the Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders; but these did not suffice for his intriguing purposes, and he must needs establish a very exclusive Club Germania. He availed himself of the privileges of the British Clubs—they gave opportunities for picking up useful information—but it was an entirely different matter for a British subject to gain entrance to the German Club. This British port of Hong Kong was one of the strongest bases in China for German electrical and engineering enterprise, and, strange as it may seem, the Germans were here permitted to continue their commercial operations during the earlier months of the war. It was only after a disreputable orgy at the Club Germania, in celebration of the fall of Antwerp, that the pressure of Hong Kong public opinion compelled the local British authorities to take action. Those Germans who did not betake themselves to the Chinese ports on the mainland were interned; all German firms were liquidated, and their affairs wound up, and to-day we have a German-free Hong Kong.

Having lost Kiao-chau, and Hong Kong being no longer open to them, the German residents in China have congregated at such centres of strategic value as Peking, Tient-

sin, Shanghai, and Hankow, and from these cities they continue to trade and advance German propagandism. In Peking they are under the able direction of their own Embassy, and we can rest assured that from this centre, whose arteries branch out to the farthest recesses of China, German intrigue is a great and constant source of danger to all the nations of the Entente. There can be no doubt but that those sinister and incredible rumours, which have from time to time troubled the Far East, have issued from the German Embassy. Suspicions were sown on the winds that there was trouble between the Allies and Japan, and there are grounds for believing that, when Japan in the early days of 1915 held up for six weeks all munitions destined for Russia, because of threatened complications with China, this situation had been largely engineered from the same Germanic source.

The Chinese military party in Peking is at present all-powerful. This party is largely pro-German, and in fact the dislike and fear of one member of the Entente—Japan—has made China as a whole pro-German. It was owing to this unsatisfactory condition of affairs that it became necessary for the Triple Allies—England, France, and Russia—to make a strong protest, and China has been compelled to release from her service Major von Dinklemann, the German military adviser to the Peking Government, and has ordered him to leave the capital. This is a step that all well-wishers of China will heartily approve. In Peking and the provinces there are over six hundred Germans and Austrians employed in various capacities in the Chinese Government Services. Some of these hold positions of importance in the Army, the Postal Service, and the Chinese Maritime Customs, and all are sources of active German intrigue. If China could have been prevailed upon to declare a benevolent neutrality, it would have permitted of these German and Austrian powers of mischief being considerably curtailed.

In Shanghai the German interest was strong before the war, and has now been greatly augmented by the influx of Teutons from Kiao-chau and Hong Kong. For some years antagonistic feeling between the British and the Germans here ran very high. This was occasioned by the great efforts annually made by the Germans to turn out from their seats British members of the Municipal Council, and to replace them by members of their own nationality. Shanghai has become a veritable nest of German intrigue, and from this great international settlement has poured forth an increasing volume of literature and press matter that has helped to poison alike the minds of Chinese and neutrals. The attempt to export arms to India was made from this port; in fact the machinations of the Germans to create revolt in India have in the main been engineered from Shanghai. Upon one such occasion ammunition was placed between hollowed planks screwed together, and but for the Chinese carpenter, who turned informer, they would have been exported. At another time a steamer, when nearing Saigon, the port of French Indo-China, was overhauled by a French gunboat. There was great excitement on board as the gunboat approached, and much cargo was being thrown overboard. The ship's manifest was examined, and found to have been tampered with. A German on board denied his nationality, but he was discovered to be the late German Consul at Mukden in Manchuria. The vessel was evidently carrying munitions exported from Shanghai in charge of the Consul, and intended for India.

In Hankow, where the Germans possess a small concession, the same opportunities for their unscrupulous methods present themselves, and here, as in Shanghai, anti-German feeling has been acute. Previous to the annual meeting of the Hankow Race Club the German Consul circularized his fellow subjects to vote exclusively for his own nominees, in fact they were instructed only to nominate and vote for Germans for every office open to public election, and thus to

make German influence, if possible, to preponderate on all the European committees. The Europeans resented the underhanded ways by which these Teutons sought on all occasions to advance only the interests of Germany. The public exasperation reached a climax after the local orgies which followed the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and a drastic step was taken when all Germans and Austrians were expelled from membership of the Hankow Race Club during the course of the war. This anti-German feeling in Shanghai and Hankow is the almost universal attitude of Europeans in all the foreign communities in the Yangtze Valley and the coastal ports of China. German diplomatist, civil servant, missionary, merchant, and traveller, all are emissaries of empire, and it is this never-forgotten insistence of 'Germany over all' that has caused her nationals to become the most disliked residents in the Far East.

Most German commercial houses in China have primarily built up their success by the employment of British agents. In fact any national has been welcomed by these firms provided he had some special knowledge to contribute, and so it comes about that most European nationalities are still to be found amongst their agents. Many of these men both read and speak Chinese, and are most valuable in pushing up-country trade. They are all things to all men, and are equally at home at an official interview or at a compradore's banquet. They deal first hand with the man who has anything of commercial value to export, or who has any needs worth supplying. They will ingratiate themselves into favour with a whole country-side, and come away with the deed of purchase of a valuable mine. Is there some hint that a distant city wishes to import an electric-light plant, or commence a water-scheme, or start a railway, your Chinese-speaking agent of the German firm is first on the spot. He has great urbanity of manner, and an infinite fund of patience; he will produce specimens and give quotations in local currency, and what is far more alluring to a

Chinese purchaser, be he city merchant or county mandarin, he will conclude the contract on the basis of a five years' payment,—compound interest being charged on the instalments yet due.

The German business firms will import anything from anywhere provided they can find a suitable purchaser. Machinery, electrical plant, railway material, cheap merchandise, and aniline dyes are amongst the greater imports. His aniline dyes, as in India, are rapidly supplanting the native-grown indigo. Amongst exports are to be found metals, hides, vegetable and wood oils, the now famous soya bean, tea, and silk. There has of recent years been a great export of antimony; whether this metal in China has been subject to German control to the same extent as the metals from Australia, Canada, and South Africa is not yet known.

German firms are not above importing British-made goods and then selling them to the Chinese at less than the market price of the British firms in China. This is done to impress upon the Chinese purchaser the great profits made by British firms, and thus to undermine English trade and to replace our goods by cheaper and inferior German makes. The German trader has been known to purchase British machinery, and, having removed the maker's name-plate and substituted one bearing a German name, has sold the article as of German manufacture and at a cheaper rate than that offered by the British firm. This has been done rather than risk a British house gaining a foothold where a German monopoly has been established. German firms, too, are not averse to accepting heavy bribes. To give one instance which has been verified by the writer. A Chinese official requiring an iron-girder bridge arranged with a British firm to supply one for \$50,000, but requested that an additional \$25,000 for himself be added to the bill for the Government audit. This request was refused, and the contract was subsequently placed with a German firm,

who not only supplied the identical British bridge, but also gave the official his coveted bonus of \$25,000, and further obtained a like amount for themselves—the Chinese Government paying the bill for \$100,000.

The German has the reputation of under-bidding the lowest offer from any firm of other nationality. He will do business on a one per cent. basis of profit, where a British firm will not look at the transaction under five per cent. This scheme of low profits and long credits has enabled many German houses to import great cargoes of merchandise, and they are prepared to do business at a considerable loss in order to capture British trade, hoping to make good their losses in older and more lucrative fields; the trade having once been captured, the prices automatically return to their original figure. The German custom of giving long credits has revolutionized the older and safer standards of the British cash basis, to the undoing of Chinese business morality, which was universally known to be very high.

The German export trade too has been equally prosperous. During the high-water season magnificent Hamburg freighters have sailed monthly from Hankow taking with them immense cargoes of raw materials. These sailings were heralded with great display of advertisement in the local papers. Perhaps it would have been diplomatic had British shipping firms also notified an unobservant and ignorant public of the arrival and departure of well-loaded British freighters to England.

With all their boasting the Germans have not been able to capture the carrying trade of China, and with the exception of one indifferent line of small river-steamers they possess no fleet of freighters in the Far East, while British companies own at least 150 steamers solely engaged in local trade up the rivers and round the coast.

Since the liquidating of enemy firms in Hong Kong some remarkable discoveries of their financial methods have been made. Many transactions in their books are inex-

plicable unless we assume that they received financial support from the German Government, even if they were not a State-aided trust. They have also secretly financed large Chinese concerns, such as the Hua Hsin Spinning and Weaving Company, which sought to effect a monopoly of this industry throughout three great provinces. This company was in reality a Chino-German Trust; and quite recently the Chinese merchants of these provinces made a vigorous protest to the Central Government against the establishing of these great monopolies by alien corporations.

Between the years 1912-1914 the German Government spent huge sums of money on Chinese projects, chiefly to benefit engineering and mining interests. They also inaugurated a scheme of Commercial Mission Schools for the teaching of the German language and the engineering profession. Christianity was to be of secondary if any importance. The main feature was the furthering of German influence throughout the country.

The Germans are well acquainted with the mineral fields of China. Journeys and surveys have been made in all directions. The deeds of mining concessions, and secretly purchased prospective mines, have all been docketed in the German Consulates and are there quietly awaiting the opportune moment to bring them forth and commence operations.

It is an astonishment that so many European houses have employed German firms as their agents and representatives in China, and too many British export merchants, manufacturing firms, and insurance societies have thus been in the hands of German agencies. It is to be hoped that after the war British companies will have their own representatives, or only employ British firms engaged in Chinese commission business. The Russian Chamber of Export at Petrograd has realized the urgency of freeing itself from the 'superfluous German mediation,' and has already issued notifications to its Consulates in China urging that all

Russian subjects should liberate themselves from this incubus. They invite European importers and exporters to establish direct relations with Russian firms.

The above résumé of German commercial methods is not wholly condemnatory of the German business man, but has been given as an indication of the far-reaching influence and penetrating thoroughness of his methods. It moreover demonstrates the keenness of competition to be encountered at the end of the war. So many of their former fields being now practically closed to them, it is to be anticipated that the Germans will make a tremendous fight for commercial supremacy in the Far East. From their bases at places like Hankow and Shanghai their agents are most actively pushing trade and making post-war contracts on a large scale. While British firms have permitted many of their finest young men to come home and enter the army, the Germans, who cannot bring their men home, are perfecting their commercial machinery, which means that when peace comes our depleted firms will have to contend with the great and efficiently prepared organizations of the enemy.

The Treaty ports are also the centres of an ever-active German propagandism and political intrigue. When that astute Chinese statesman Li Hung-chang during his famous world-tour met Bismarck in Berlin, the man of iron and blood told the famous Viceroy that England would not long remain in her then proud world-position. The Germans in the Far East have from that day onwards sought by word and deed to carry on an insidious campaign of defamation and detraction against the British Empire.

In China as in all other neutral countries the publicity campaign of the Germans has been most thorough and far-reaching. It is no exaggeration to say that possibly each of the 1,500 county towns of China are being regularly circularized by the German publicity press. A friend of the writer's who was lately travelling in a distant and mountain-

ous district found that the chief official was following with interest the European war, receiving regularly papers sent to him from German sources. Our enemies are using to the full the advantages offered by the press, and in cities like Peking and Shanghai they possess their own papers; and in most instances these are printed in the English language, the *via media* of the Far East. One of these papers from Peking is edited by an English-speaking Chinese, and is supposedly neutral and ostensibly Chinese owned, but in reality it is a German publicity organ. The *Peking Post*—a so-called neutral paper run in the German interest—contained a long article on the shooting of Nurse Cavell. It was written by a German lawyer, who justified the execution, and was sent by him to this 'neutral' paper for publication. Another enemy paper called *The War* is published in Shanghai, and is a most scurrilous production engaged in defaming England. It contains vile cartoons on English life, and is full of telegrams and articles on the war from the German side.

These and kindred papers are constantly seeking to create suspicion and foment trouble between China and the various nations of the Entente. They have, moreover, angled for the good opinion of the Chinese, and there are grounds for suspicion that Germans in Peking were, if not the inspirers of the Monarchical Movement, at least its hearty supporters. By this means they sought to ingratiate themselves with those in power, especially as the ministers of the Entente had through Japan cautioned the Monarchists to proceed slowly with the scheme. The Germans have also made much capital out of the fact that the Japanese—whom the Chinese both fear and hate—had wrested Kiao-chau from Germany, and would not keep their promise to restore it to China at the end of the war, and it is interesting to know that most thinking Chinese are of this opinion.

Not only does the enemy own these English-printed newspapers for the influencing of the European and American

communities throughout China, but, what is perhaps much more effective, he has considerable hold on the native press, and here the opportunities of inoculating the Chinese mind with the virus of Germanism are unlimited. A discriminating use of the silver dollar will work wonders amongst the editorial staff of most Chinese dailies. Throughout the Republic there are between two and three hundred of these mainly impecunious newspapers, and the German press propaganda has been very effectively prosecuted by their means.

There are two main reasons for this active German publicity campaign ; one is to influence the official mind and if possible to make it pro-German and consequently antagonistic to the Entente, for it would be disastrous to German interests in China to have the official classes openly hostile, and a great point is gained if they are benevolently neutral ; but to give them a decidedly pro-German bias is the height of their diplomacy and something well worth striving to attain. The other reason for this unceasing campaign of calumny and detraction is to capture the merchant classes, and thus prepare the way for their great trade enterprises when peace is signed.

E. C. COOPER.

MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS

THERE are few topics of general interest which have given rise to more misconceptions than medieval schools and education. The majority of Englishmen, if they think of the subject at all, are convinced that their more ancient grammar schools began at the Reformation. In defence of this belief they can point to the numerous foundations called after Edward VI. But the researches of recent years, especially of the eminent scholar and administrator, A. F. Leach, whose untimely death we have recently mourned, have shed a flood of light upon an obscure subject. We now know that these foundations of Edward VI were in few cases new foundations, that for the most part they were but the scanty restoration to the people of educational equipment and endowment filched away from them by the harpies of the court, and that the net result of the Reformation was the suppression of numerous schools all over England, both in the larger towns and in the villages. In 1562 the Speaker informed Queen Elizabeth that 'at least 100 schools were wanting in England which before his time had been.' As a matter of fact the Speaker's estimate was grievously under the mark. A close examination of medieval records show that nearly 200 grammar schools existed in England before the reign of Edward VI, which were for the most part abolished or crippled under him, and the records are far from complete. According to the researches of Mr. Leach, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, taking the country as a whole, there was one grammar school for every 6,000 people, whereas in 1864 there was but one grammar school for every 24,000!

But the monstrous spoliation of the people's endowments at the Reformation lies outside our present purpose. At some future time we may return to it. We propose in

this paper to confine ourselves strictly to laying before our readers some estimate of the extent and character of medieval schools. Only by clear thinking in this matter can the way be prepared for educational advance, or rather for the restoration to the people of opportunities that were once theirs but which were stripped from them at the Reformation. In this twentieth century we are slowly waking up to the need of education, but in spite of all our national grants we have not yet altogether made up the deficiencies caused by the great spoliation under Edward VI and the unspeakable neglect of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a sad reflection that in the county of Hereford, with a then population of 30,000 people, there were before the Reformation no less than seventeen grammar schools, the majority free, whose endowments were for the most part then confiscated, and still line the pockets of the descendants of the statesmen—save the mark!—of the court of Edward VI. The majority of the foundations called by the name of Edward VI were cases of theft. In place of the laudation to the so-called 'founder,' which still appears on their walls, a truer inscription would be after the style of the well-known lines:—

John Brown, of his great bounty,
Built this bridge at the expense of his county.

Generosity at other people's expense, especially when you keep part of the spoils, is the easiest thing in the world. But the imposture has rarely had the success achieved under Edward VI.

Medieval schools were by no means all of the same type any more than modern schools. They may be best classified according to the institutions with which they were connected. There were schools attached to cathedrals, to collegiate churches, to monasteries, or connected with guilds, with hospitals, or with chantries, and lastly schools more or less independent of church foundations, connected with city companies or separately endowed.

Of all these schools, cathedral schools were the earliest ; they trace their descent back to the origin of the cathedrals themselves. The oldest school in England, now known as the King's School, Canterbury, was probably established as part and parcel of the first church of St. Augustine. For if the people were to understand their gospel, if native priests were to be trained for the Church, it was essential that the missionaries who came with the Latin service book in one hand should bring the Latin grammar in the other. Modern missionaries preach in the vernacular ; medieval missionaries made it their first business to teach the people the universal language of the Church. Hence any cathedral or bishop's stool set up a school as its first business. The oldest schools in the country are thus the schools connected with the earliest diocesan centres. In London, to take one instance, the famous school connected with St. Paul's dates far back beyond the days of its reputed founder, Colet, and may possibly have had a continuous existence from the days of Alfred's recovery of London from the Danes. Or, to turn to the north of England, at Hexham, in Saxon times a bishop's stool, a grammar school, still in existence, was founded before 709. In the eighth century there was what we should now call a boarding-school attached to the minster at York, with the great Alcuin as its head. At every cathedral the *chancellor* or schoolmaster was one of the most important officials, though the title has long since lost all its old educational exclusiveness, even in our universities.¹ But in old days the chancellor was not only the schoolmaster ; he was responsible for correcting and rebinding all school books.

These cathedral schools were of two types ; song schools, where the choristers were taught the elements of education, or, as Chaucer puts it—

¹ It is characteristic of Germany that its Prime Minister should possess a title which Charles the Great restricted to cathedral schoolmasters. In England on the contrary he is the 'first servant.'

That is to say, to syngen and to rede
As smale childer doon in her childhede ;

and grammar schools, which gave a more advanced education. Twin schools of grammar and of song were found in connexion with all cathedrals; the song school or elementary school, governed by the precentor, the grammar school by the chancellor. The two schools were as reluctant to unite as a secondary school and elementary school would be to-day; attempts at fusion when made, as for instance at Harold's foundation at Waltham, were resisted as a 'German' innovation. Even in the small city of Wells, the fusion of the two schools did not take place until the time of Elizabeth. But in some cathedrals, as for instance at Lincoln in 1407, the song school, under a vigorous master who chafed at his lower status, tried to elevate itself into a rival grammar school in opposition to the older foundation, much in the way in which a higher grade school often acts to-day.¹

In addition to the grammar schools and song schools attached to the cathedrals, there were similar schools attached to the great collegiate churches, churches that is where the clergy lived together a common corporate life,² for which adequate endowments had been provided. Of such collegiate churches a late example may be found in Manchester, founded in 1420—whose 'collegiate' church was made into a cathedral in the nineteenth century. In this collegiate church we must look for the origins of the present great grammar school. At the magnificent collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary, founded by Bishop Grandison of Exeter, in 1338, for eight canons and twenty-seven other priests, the schoolmaster, who was expressly forbidden to be a married man, received two marks a year for teaching

¹ At Lincoln the two rival grammar schools were re-united in 1560.

² Such clergy were members of a 'guild' or *collegium*. Hence the much abused word 'college,' which should strictly be confined to institutions where a corporate life is lived. The use of it for preparatory schools and the like is an example of the same tendency in language that leads people to speak of the charwoman as 'that lady working there.'

the choristers, besides a quarterage of twenty pence. At the great college at Rotherham, founded in 1483 by Archbishop Thomas Scot, one of the four fellows was to be chosen for his ability to teach 'grammar, poetry, and rhetoric,' at a salary of £10 a year. The second fellow was to teach song, especially 'plain' and 'broken,' at a salary of ten marks, while a third fellow was to teach writing and arithmetic to youths not intended for holy orders. All the education was to be free 'without exaction of money or anything else,' while six poor boys were to be entirely maintained until eighteen years of age. Even in the small village of Tong, in Staffordshire, with its beautiful collegiate church built in the opening years of the fifteenth century on a *tongue* of land between river and marsh, one of the four chaplains was deputed to act as schoolmaster to the youths of the neighbourhood, and for this received the extra pay of half a mark a year. These are illustrations only which might be multiplied at length. Suffice that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, if we except the twenty years that followed the Black Death of 1349, in the judgement of Mr. Leach, 'scarcely a year passed without witnessing the foundation of a collegiate church with its grammar school attached, generally in the native place of its founder.'

Collegiate and cathedral schools at first combined a variety of functions. They taught grammar to the boys, and at the same time theology to the junior priests. They combined in one duties now discharged by institutions so widely apart as elementary schools, universities, and theological seminaries. But in the twelfth century the greater collegiate schools, under the lead of such famous masters as Abailard at Paris, and Robert Pullen and Master Vacoarius at Oxford, began to differentiate off as *studia generalia*, as they were first called. These 'general schools' later acquired the exclusive use of one of the many medieval terms for a corporation, namely *universitas*. This differentiation was the special work of the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries. The result was twofold. First and foremost was the establishment of a few centres or 'universities' for all higher education. Secondly, henceforth even in towns where there was no 'university' the schools for instruction of the clergy attached to the cathedrals, under the control of the chancellor, became altogether distinct from the grammar schools under the schoolmaster or chancellor's deputy, though sometimes illiterate clergy were ordered on their institution to attend the grammar or theology school of the cathedral to make up their deficiencies.

Clear definition of function was not the work of a day. As with everything else of value it was of slow growth. So as late as 1338 we find in the school of the grand minster church of Beverley, which acted as a sort of cathedral to the East Riding—for Beverley was at that time among the first ten of the towns of England in population—clerks of between eighteen and twenty years of age taking the degree of bachelor of grammar. In 1309, at the school at St. Albans, there are full directions given in the statutes as to the requirements for this degree. But by the middle of the fourteenth century all reading for degrees in grammar or theology had been concentrated at Oxford, with Cambridge as a poor second. At one time also Salisbury attempted to set itself up as a 'university' centre, but the effort was almost as short-lived as the attempts on behalf of rebellious clerks from Oxford to transfer the 'university' to Stamford and Northampton. The rise of the 'universities' was thus the result of two forces ever at work in education as in commerce; increasing division of labour and function, and the aggregation in certain centres of the necessary equipment so as to increase efficiency and avoid expense.

We have a further illustration of the slowness of differentiation of function in the fact, often overlooked by historians, that two of the oldest of Oxford colleges, Merton and Queen's, combined at first schools for boys with their university work. At Merton the grammar school boys were limited

in number to thirteen. They were taught by one of the 'scholars,' or as we should now call him 'fellows,' of Merton at a salary of twenty shillings a half year. This grammar master was to devote his whole time to the boys, though the 'scholars' also were to resort to him 'without blushing,' should they find any difficulty in grammar. The existence of this small grammar school was much against the grain for the older fellows of Merton, and efforts were soon made to board it out in the town. At Queen's also there was a school where the boys, mostly from the north of England, were double the number of the fellows. At meal time they were catechised by the 'Masters' at the high table until the cloth was taken away. This done they were allowed to dine at the lower side table. The grammar school of Queen's was probably the last school in England at which the boys were forced to converse in French. The school is also of interest because one of the boys there between 1363 and 1371 was a certain John Wyclif, whose accounts we still possess. Possibly he was a kinsman of the reformer, with whom he has often been confused.

From schools attached to cathedrals and collegiate churches we pass to schools attached to monasteries. Much nonsense of biassed origin has been written by Cardinal Gasquet and others regarding monastic schools and their importance in the later Middle Ages. No one has more successfully destroyed this myth than Mr. Leach, though, probably, like most controversialists, his enthusiasm has led him to push his victory too far and to prove more than was necessary. In their earlier and better days the monasteries generally maintained a school, primarily for the education of their novices and more illiterate members. Nor must we forget that the earlier monasteries were generally mission centres, where schools were a necessary part of their evangelical efforts. To these schools outsiders, no doubt, were admitted. Some of these monastic schools, e.g. Jarrow, in the ninth century and Bec in the eleventh

century, attained the highest repute. In the twelfth century also, the century in which monasticism attained its greatest extension and influence, many of the monasteries obtained control over existing schools, previously in the hands of the secular clergy. At Reading, for instance, whose great abbey was founded in 1125, the abbot and convent were given the monopoly of education in the town. So also at Dunstable, when in 1180 Henry I handed over the whole manor, together with the school, to the Austin canons of his new priory. Similar transfers of schools to Austin canons took place at Huntingdon, Bedford, and other places.

But even in the twelfth century we see indications that monasticism as such cared little or nothing for education. The great new order of Cistercians, the chief monastic off-spring of the age, was expressly forbidden by St. Bernard, its real founder, to keep a school except for novices. With the incoming of the thirteenth century the monastic schools, which had become for the most part small and select affairs, one by one closed their doors to outsiders. By the days of Wyclif, monastic schools had almost ceased to exist, though here and there a few abbeys continued to administer trust funds devoted to education. Occasionally also an abbot or prior was accustomed to take into his house as boarders a few sons of gentlemen, very much like certain Anglican clergy in the nineteenth century. But this was strictly a private arrangement. The boys so boarded were taught either by private tutors or in the common schools of the town, never, of course, by the abbot or prior himself.

One exception must be made to this neglect by monasteries in the later middle ages of all educational work. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, as a result of the increased devotion of the age to the Virgin Mary, we find the growing use of boy choristers in the Lady Chapel of monastic churches. For these choristers special provision, until their voices cracked, was made for housing and educa-

tion. In this the monasteries were following the example already set by the cathedrals and collegiate churches. The 'almonry boys,' as they were called, were boarded in the house of the almoner or almsgiver, just outside the great gate of the abbey. For their education the monks were driven, unless indeed they could make use of some neighbouring school, to keep a school of their own. In the case of Coventry cathedral priory and of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, however, the monks seem deliberately to have started almonry schools in opposition to the cathedral grammar school. For the support of these monastic schools special endowments were often provided, sometimes by the abbot or prior, more often by outside benefactors. In the fourteenth century, perhaps, a thousand children a year at the outside may thus have received board and education in the English monasteries—a number very different from the usual exaggeration of interested writers. One of these 'almonry' schools, attached to the monastery of Westminster, has since developed into one of our great public schools. The school seems to have been started about 1355, when its master was paid two marks a year.

Slightly different from the 'almonry' schools were the cases where a monastery merely boarded boys who attended the city grammar school. Such 'boarding' was probably the result of the falling off in the number of the monks due to the Black Death. We may instance the Charterhouse of Coventry, begun in 1382, at which twelve poor scholars between the ages of seven and seventeen were maintained out of special funds. These boys, in the intervals of education, were expected to pray for the soul of Richard II. At Sherborne Abbey also, three boys received scholarships of £2 6s. a year each, tenable at the grammar school. But in all monastic schools the boys 'lest they should become uppish' had to sit at meal time on the ground, amidst straw that was changed, possibly, twice a year. There they were fed with the broken meats handed out of the pantry window

of the refectory. We would give much for the diary of a monastic schoolboy. It might throw much light on disputed questions. But, on second thoughts, we fear it would have been more concerned with the quality of the 'broken meats.'

In addition to the schools attached to cathedral and collegiate churches and the few almonry schools attached to monasteries, there were also schools attached to hospitals. The numerous hospitals, or as we should now call them almshouses, of the country, for the most part swept away at the Reformation, in many cases made some provision for teaching. At St. Leonard's hospital, in York, at one time the wealthiest in the country, there were thirty choristers with two schoolmasters to teach them music and grammar. At the hospital of St. Catherine's by the Tower, the filching away of whose revenues from East London to Regent's Park is one of the great unredressed wrongs of the poor, Queen Eleanor in 1277 added endowments for three priests and twenty-four poor, among whom were to be 'six poor scholars who should assist the chaplains when they can conveniently take holiday from their studies.' One of the chief schools of London was founded in 1441 by John Carpenter, provost of Oriel, Oxford, in connexion with the hospital of St. Anthony. The revenues of the rectory of St. Bennet Fink, sixteen marks a year, were appropriated for the grammar master, while a tavern was given as the endowment of the song school. An usher and twelve children were thus lodged, clothed, and taught.

Collegiate churches, hospitals, and their attached schools were costly to found; chantries, on the other hand, were cheap and rapidly increasing. Chantries needed little in the way of architecture; it was sufficient to fill up the space between two flying buttresses and thus make a little chapel; or if the church was small and there were no flying buttresses the north aisle could be extended and a chantry chapel formed. In the fourteenth century, chantries, great

and small, sprang up apace. The chantry priest, in addition to singing masses for the soul of his founder, was generally required to do some teaching. When Bishop Langley, for instance, founded in 1412 a chantry at Middleton, near Manchester, and endowed it with £6 13s. 4d. per annum, the chantry priest was required to teach grammar to the poor children. At Harlow, in Essex, we find a chantry school endowed in 1324 with £8 8s. 10d. a year, besides 'a bunch of ginger'; rather a high rate of pay, as the times went. But our scanty limits forbid us to enumerate the considerable crop of chantries with schools attached which sprang up after the Black Death in town and village alike, the incomes of whose priest-schoolmasters, though small, were all on the upward grade. Many chantry schools were founded of whose existence we only know from the return of their incomes in that great Domesday Book of the Church, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535. Chantry schools, almost without exception, were swept away by Edward VI on the plea that they were 'superstitious.' On this pitiful pretext rural England was condemned to a long night of ignorance.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century we see the rise in all the towns of numerous guilds. These guilds must not be confused with the earlier trade-guilds. They were rather social clubs whose centre was the church. They united in one functions now discharged by life assurance and fire assurance societies, burial clubs, benefit clubs, trades unions and the like. In addition they provided portions for their girls upon marriage. Above all by their ceaseless junketings they made the merry England of our forefathers. The larger guilds generally kept a chaplain, one of whose functions, in addition to praying for deceased members, was to teach a 'free school,' i.e. 'free' for the members of the guild. Instances abound. The guilds of Boston possessed a vast income, part of which was used for education and in maintenance of a school. But alas!

all was swept away at the great spoliation, as in fact were the major part of the guilds of the country. We may mention one case of a guild school of world-wide interest that still survives. At Stratford-on-Avon, the three guilds existing in connexion with the old church were consolidated in 1400 as the guild of the Holy Cross and removed to a beautiful guild chapel of their own, still happily standing. From the first this guild maintained a schoolmaster, for whom, in 1426, the present picturesque Latin school was built at a cost of £9 17s. 11d. As the result of an endowment received from a certain Thomas Jolyffe in 1482, 'for the health of his soul and of his parents, and of all the brethren and sisters of the said guild,' a priest was appointed 'to teach grammar freely, taking nothing from his scholars' at a salary of £10 a year, the same salary as the then head master of Eton. This guild school in 1552 was bought back by the townsmen from the clutches of the court of Edward VI, and survived to teach William Shakespeare his 'little Latin and less Greek.'

In the reign of Henry IV. we come across a new educational development. Hitherto all schools had been part of, or dependent upon, some ecclesiastical foundation, cathedral, collegiate church, chantry, or the like. Oswestry grammar school, founded in 1405 by a Welsh lawyer, David Holbeach, is one of the earliest instances of a school entrusted to a mixed body of laymen and clerics. The method was further extended by John Abbot in 1443, a mercer of London, who made his city company trustees of the free school he founded at his native village of Farthinghoe, in Northamptonshire. Abbot's example was later followed by others, including the illustrious Colet when he re-endowed the old cathedral school as the 'newe scole of Powles,' and substituted the Mercers as governors in place of the Dean and chapter.

Another instance of the desire in the fifteenth century to divorce education from the grip of the Church, or at any

rate from being mixed up with the singing of masses as in the chantry schools, is seen in the foundation by William Sevenoaks, grocer, of London, of a grammar school at Sevenoaks, in 1432, the first known school founded by a London citizen. At this school the master was to be 'by no means in holy orders.' In fact many of the schoolmasters of the fifteenth century were married men. For instance in 1435 at St. Peter's, Westminster, the schoolmaster and his wife were granted the use for their lives rent free of the Knowle Chantry.

Education at these schools, except where special provision had been made, was by no means free, at any rate at the date at which Wyclif would creep like snail unwillingly to school. The Lateran Council, it is true, in 1179, ordered that free schools should be provided for 'the poor.' We shall inquire later what is intended by this ambiguous phrase. But in 1215 Innocent III, at the next Lateran Council, complained that the decree was not observed, so repeated the same with an extension. Provision for the grammar master was to be made, if the means of the church were not sufficient, at some other church in the district. But councils might decree; the actual results were generally otherwise. In the fourteenth century, schoolmastering was 'a gainful profession,' in which the masters looked to the fees of the scholars for their support even if, as at Higham Ferrers in 1391, the schoolmaster was appointed to discharge the duties of mayor. Provision, however, was often made by means of endowments, for the payment of the fees of the poor, as for instance by Master Richard, of Nantes, in 1286, for sixteen poor scholars at St. Albans. England, however, was not without its free schools. One of the earliest of these was the Grammar school at Wootton-under-Edge, founded in 1384.

But if schools were not free in the fourteenth century, endowments for the support of children at school were not uncommon. One of the earliest of these—for we pass by

the exhibitions for poor boys at Bury St. Edmunds, said to have been founded by Cnut—is the Burghersh foundation (Feb., 1349) at Lincoln. Ten pounds a year was set aside for maintaining six boys from the age of eight to sixteen in the chantry house and instructing the same in the grammar school. Thirty shillings a year was assigned to provide them with new tunics and hoods at Christmas, and, if the sum allowed, with shirts also. Their keep was estimated at £1 6s. a year each; at meals the boys took it in turns to read to the chaplains.

A step higher we find endowed boarding schools or boarding houses. To two of those in Oxford colleges, Merton and Queen's, we have already drawn attention. A more successful experiment, because less mixed in character, was the provision made in 1332 by Bishop Grandison, carrying out an idea of his predecessor Stapledon, at St. John's Hospital, Exeter, for a master and ten grammar boys, selected by the master of Exeter city school from among boys who already knew their psalter. These boys were to board in the hospital and attend the city school for five years.

More successful still, marking in fact the commencement of a new era in English education, was the foundation by William Wykeham of his magnificent school at Winchester for ninety-six scholars, choristers, and commoners—a larger number than all the fellows at that time in all the colleges of Oxford. For the first time in England, or any other country, 'a school was established as a sovereign and independent corporation, existing by and for itself, self-centred and self-governed.' Wykeham, who was born about the same year as Wyclif, was anxious that his school, which took the place of an older grammar school where the founder himself had received his education, should be a nursery for the university, especially for the 'new college' he had founded at Oxford. But he avoided the disastrous mistake made at Merton and Queen's of amalgamating school and

college in one building or place. His Saint Mary College of Winchester at Oxford—to give New College its official title—was intimately connected with his school or college of St. Mary of Winchester, the first stone of which was laid on March 26, 1387. The younger foundation was intended to feed the other. Both, however, were sufficiently apart to develop on their own lines. But in the college at Winchester the grammar schoolmaster was but a subordinate officer to the provost or head of the fellows of the college.¹

Closely following in its main provisions the model of Winchester, we find Archbishop Chicheley endowing in 1422 as a college the grammar school in the town of his birth, Higham Ferrers. This was linked up with All Souls College, Oxford, founded by him in 1438. Chicheley improved on Wykeham by providing that one of the eight chaplains or fellows of which his college (at Higham) consisted might be the grammar schoolmaster, and another the song schoolmaster, thus making the masters integral members of the governing body of the foundation, instead of stipendiary officers only. In the foundation by Henry VI of 'the King's College of our Lady at Eton' (October 11, 1440), linked up in 1443 with Henry's foundation of King's College at Cambridge, we see the same principle carried out on a vast scale, for Eton was licensed to hold property to the value of 1,000 marks a year, as befitted what Henry styled 'the lady mother and mistress of all other grammar schools.' There were similar foundations at Ewelme, Wye, Tattershall, and other places.

At this point it is necessary that we answer a question that is often raised to-day in connexion with these ancient educational foundations. It is often asserted, not merely by socialists, that the 'poor' scholars for whom Wykeham

¹ The fact that Winchester and Eton were primarily 'colleges,' not only accounts for their 'fellows,' but for their seemingly dual government by Provost and Headmaster. They are the only two schools now existing that are strictly 'colleges,' Higham Ferrers and the others having lost this character.

and others provided were 'the poor children of the working-classes or the gutter poor.' The view is quite untenable. For the serfs of medieval England, before the Black Death, were *ascripti glebae*, tied down to the soil, and there were heavy fines for those serfs who sent their sons to school without leave from their lord. No doubt leave was often given, especially in the case of some lad of uncommon promise, or of one who had caught the lord's favour, but even when leave was granted a money fine was often exacted. For instance at Coggeshall, in Essex, in 1334, a fine of 3s. 4d., or two months' pay of a skilled artisan, was inflicted on a villein for sending his son to school without licence. 'The fourteenth century manor rolls all over the country are dotted with fines for sending boys to schools to become clerks.' Not until 1406, by the statute of apprentices, was this restriction removed, and 'the poor,' in the modern sense of the word, allowed 'to take learning at any manner school that pleaseth them.'

As regards Wykeham's foundation at Winchester the evidence is positive. Every 'poor' scholar had to swear that his income did not exceed 'five marks a year,' but in the diocese of Winchester there were sixty-seven livings of lesser income. The poor whom Wykeham wished to help were, as he says, those who had means enough to send their sons to grammar schools but not enough to send them on to the universities, the younger sons of squires and of the professional classes. At Eton the statutes expressly provided that no son of a villein should be admitted.

What provision, if any, was made for the education of girls? It is impossible to say. At Boston, in the early years of the fifteenth century, we find a certain Matilda Mareflete keeping a school. But this dame's school was probably a preparatory school for small boys. Girls of the upper classes, no doubt, were educated at home; for other girls education was deemed superfluous, at any rate I know of no records in England of any schools for girls. On the

other hand the advocates of women's rights may comfort themselves that there is distinct evidence that one of the professors of law in the fourteenth century at the great law university of Bologna was a woman. According to a record still preserved there were in Paris and its suburbs in May, 1380, forty-one masters and twenty-one mistresses of grammar schools.¹ But whether these mistresses taught boys only we are not informed. We are completely in the dark as to where they received their own education. Probably Heloïse was not the only maiden handed over to the tuition of a clerk, though the others, fortunately for themselves, have not left us records still vocal of their tuition.

The discipline at a medieval school, needless to say, was severe. The symbol of the grammar master was the rod, as the tourist may still observe in the statue on the front of Chartres Cathedral. The seal of the grammar school at Louth shows a mighty pedagogue with legs apart, on his left knee a lad—the rest needs no description. The school and the rod were associated ideas. The alternative offered in the well-known inscription at Winchester—

Aut disce aut discede ; manet sors tertia caedi—

was the dream of an idealist rather than an actual possibility. When Heloïse's uncle entrusted her to Abailard's care—with results disastrous to tutor and scholar—he exhorted him to flog her well if she did not pursue her studies with diligence. Here and there were exceptions. Dunstan's mildness as a teacher gave growth to the legend that he saved the boy monks of Canterbury from excessive chastisement by a miraculous appearance, while one of the prettiest tales of the Middle Ages is told of the gentleness of Anselm, as a schoolmaster, when prior at Bec. But Anselm stood alone. As a rule the discipline at monastic schools was as severe as the monastic life to which it was

¹ See Denifle, *Chartularium Univ. Paris*. iii. 53n. Denifle's *Chartularium* is the greatest storehouse of medieval lore that I know.

the entrance. An older monk was assigned to every two boys, to sleep between them at night, to watch over them by day, and in general to spy out their doings. Medieval schoolboys might well be thankful that monastic schools, contrary to the modern delusion, were few and far between.

We conclude this short survey of medieval schools with one or two matters of more general interest. Life at a medieval grammar school was not without its excitements. We read, for instance, of a certain schoolmaster in Paris who kept a school 'in which about fifty small scholars are reared, just as if they were in a college.' At ten o'clock one December night in 1391 some of the officers of the neighbouring Chatelât burst in, tore their books, beat the lads and carried off one of them almost naked to the Chatelât. The boys, it would appear, had been playing a practical joke which the officers of the Chatelât resented. A lawsuit, of course, followed; but no verdict was ever reached. The difficulties of keeping the lads in order in a lawless age is seen in a statute of the grammar school at St. Albans in 1309 forbidding the elder boys to carry arms, in school or out, under pain of excommunication.

Medieval schools were not altogether without their games and athletics. We may pass by 'hoops'—which cost a halfpenny each—and other age-long recreations. 'Marbles' also existed; 'alley' in fact is a very old corruption of 'alabaster.' Shrove Tuesday, in London and elsewhere, was a holiday devoted 'to looking on at the cock fights in the morning, after which the whole youth of the city goes into the suburban level,' i.e. Smithfield, for 'a solemn game of ball.' Each of the three London schools had its own ball, and the games were watched by the fathers and rich men of the city, who came out on horseback to see the struggles of the young. In winter we find the boys skating on skates made of bone; in summer 'taking the air' at suburban springs, one of which, Clerkenwell, obtained its name from thus being the resort of scholars. But the

maddest, merriest day, or rather days, of the schoolboy's life was the feast of St. Nicholas of Myra—in Protestant times corrupted into Santa Claus—with all the fun and burlesque—to a later age it seemed irreverent ribaldry—which centred in the Christmas time round the boy-bishop and his boy-canons. In this feast, as in the Roman Saturnalia, of which it was in part the descendant, the ruling idea was a complete inversion of status, no longer as in Rome of the master by the slave, but of the dignitaries of the Church by the schoolboy whose official title was 'bishop of the Innocents.' This boy-bishop was usually the senior boy of the school, though the statutes of York Minster take care to add 'provided he is sufficiently good-looking.'

But on these and other cognate matters we must not enlarge. Schoolboy character is probably the most permanent and conservative known to psychologists. The medieval schoolboy would differ but little in all essentials from his modern successor. School-houses, school-books, and schoolmasters may change, but the schoolboy is almost changeless.¹ So we are not surprised to hear that in the rivalry of two of the great schools of London: 'The scholars of Paul's meeting with those of St. Anthony's would call them Anthony pigs, and they again would call the others pigeons of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in Paul's church and St. Anthony was always figured with a pig following him.' Stow adds that 'they usually fall from words to blows, with their satchells full of books'—the last, no doubt, most convenient weapons of offence!

H. B. WORKMAN.

¹ School holidays are just as changeless. In 1384 we find at Wootton-under-Edge that they were 'fixed for ever' as from December 21 to January 7, a fortnight at Easter, a week at Whitsuntide, and from August 1 to September 14.

SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL REACTIONS OF THE WAR

Essays on History, Philosophy, and Theology. By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D. (Jackson & Walford, 1849.)

Ideals under Trial. By SIR EDWARD RUSSELL. (Young & Sons, Liverpool, 1914.)

La Connaissance de Dieu. Par A. GRATRY, Prêtre de l'Oratoire. (Jules Gervais, Paris, 1881.)

THE phenomena on which it is now proposed to say something will be better understood if looked at by the retrospective light of national and international thought and feeling in existence some time before the war. Most German and some English writers have described the actual outbreak of the conflict as preceded by a long season, not of preparation for hostilities, but of economical and industrial jealousy, manifestly, from the first, predestined to settlement on the battlefield. English labour, in particular of the clerkly kind, had, of course, long suffered in London and elsewhere from Teutonic competition; while one-sided Free Trade, it was said, replaced home-made goods in our markets by manufactures from the 'Fatherland.'

These causes of friction, and even the periodically more menacing rivalry in the matter of Dreadnoughts, did not prevent a genuine cordiality in the feelings entertained by a large mass of the English people towards not only the German people but the German Emperor himself. He had made a place for himself in the public and private life of the country which as yachtsman and sportsman he had visited for some years. He stood high in the favour of his royal grandmother. In town and country, at Balmoral, at Osborne, as at Windsor and Buckingham Palace, he had been a long and frequent visitor when there were no other guests. Queen Victoria was indisputably a shrewd and sound judge

of character. The special notice, therefore, bestowed by her upon her grandson was, as many people thought, no common testimonial to the great and good qualities of William II.

That potentate had also impressed English observers of a very different kind by his versatility, vigour, and the ease with which he overcame natural difficulties. Men admired his skill as a marksman on the Wemmergill grouse moors in spite of his having to handle his gun with only one arm. The ladies of their families had nothing but praise for the sovereign whose universal gifts enabled him to be his own Court artist (witness the Imperial picture of the 'Yellow Peril,' dedicated by the artist to the Mikado of Japan), as well as his own Chaplain of the Fleet, to say nothing of his own Chancellor and foreign minister *vice* the cast-out 'man of blood and iron.'

As for the Imperial '*entourage*,' its members were not less in favour with the British upper middle class than its master and centre himself. '*Les Ruches Fontaine Bleu*,' kept for many years by Miss Souvestre, Emile Souvestre's daughter, and afterwards carried on by Miss Dussaut for a colleague, was only one of several high-class schools of the same sort at which English, American, French, and German girls of good position were trained together to become charming women. Establishments of this sort formed the real link in the chain of friendship connecting the countries concerned. There was a steady increase in the German wives brought back by highly placed American and English officials.

The Anglo-German Entente, as it is not too much to call it, in the Victorian Age, was to some extent intellectual as well as social. A mixed society always receives its tone from its women. The wives and daughters of England had shown their superiority by the close study of Carlyle and Froude and transformed themselves into hero-worshippers of the variety that those teachers would have approved.

They had long scanned the European horizon in vain in their search for the strong man gathering up in himself the most stimulating or drastic tendencies of his time. At last they found their ideal in the flesh, personified by the War Lord, surrounded with his oligarchy of 'war lordlings.' Feminine agency had been chiefly instrumental in establishing a personal friendship between a certain section of the polite world in England with the womenkind of Prussian 'Junkerdom.'

The Kaiser's place in the good books of philo-German womanhood survived alike the outbreak of the war and the opening of the Belgian atrocities. It was not much affected by the murders of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt. In the former case, it was calmly observed, laws are made to be respected; in war-time one cannot be over nice; the English nurse had broken a well-known German law, therefore she must die. As for the commander of the English ship, the *Brussels*, he was, indeed, a non-combatant and, moreover, unarmed, but was charged with an attempt to ram a German submarine, and was actually found guilty of an effort to save the lives of his passengers and crew. Therefore, urged the fair apologists of Prussian 'frightfulness,' he committed high treason against the Kaiser, and of course had to be shot.

All the great religious bodies of the land have been absolutely at one with each other in denouncing the methods of the common enemy, not of the Churches but of mankind, and in recognizing the righteousness of the cause in which arms were reluctantly taken up by the Allies. Yet the horror, spread throughout the civilized world by the crushing of Belgium and the wanton destruction of its intellectual treasure-house, Louvain, coincided with the feeling expressed by many unattached religionists that the State which, on its creation in 1830, Germany in common with the rest of Europe had sworn to protect, was expiating its crimes under Leopold II. against the Congo race. Might there

not be, moreover, on the part of England, sins for whose chastisement the head of the Hohenzollerns bore 'the sword of the Lord'? In the first place the people of these islands were, it was said, traversed by a strong Teutonic vein; it behoved us to take heed lest haply we should be found fighting against those of our own national kin. Had not a great English historian and teacher called the defeat of Varus and his legions one of the two most important battles in the world, because it for ever confined the Romans to the western side of the Rhine and preserved safe and free the Teutonic nation, the regenerating element in modern Europe? Further, as another great Protestant power, did not England sin against her own mercies in making Protestant Germany her foe?

Gradually these amiable sophisms were exposed. In their social if not doctrinal aspects, English Protestantism and German Protestantism were not two different varieties of the same system, but were in the most marked contrast to each other. The strenuous and learned opposition of Zwingli during the sixteenth-century Reformation had not prevented Luther from retaining for his churches essential articles and ceremonies of the Roman Faith. The former included Christ's Presence in the Consecrated Elements, and naturally involved the rites and functions that formed the foundation of the priestly power. The thoughtless evangelicalism, for the most part extra-Anglican, but which for religious reasons professed horror at the idea of England drawing her sword against a nominally Protestant power, ought to have known that it had little reason for admiring German Lutheranism. The mixed Anglican-Lutheran Jerusalem Bishopric of 1841 was regarded by moderate Churchmen of the time with scarcely less disapproval than it excited among the Tractarians, with whom it became one of the influences that determined Newman's secession to Rome four years later. The approximation of the Lutheran to the Roman ritual also explains the sympathy forthcoming in

royal quarters with the decorative movement that began in the Church of England services about 1876, and that was much stimulated by courtly patronage in and after 1873.

Gradually the more thoughtful and less uneducated of British Prussophils were visited with misgivings in the matter. They began to correct their sentimental prepossessions by reference to historical facts. The controversies, stimulated by Luther among his followers after the rupture with Rome, proved on enquiry to have been but temporarily moderated by Melancthon. As a consequence Germany, it was seen, became the hotbed of reaction to Romanism on the one hand, and anti-Christian philosophy on the other. Inquiry into these subjects further showed more even than this. Luther's and Melancthon's successors did not indeed openly repudiate the doctrines of Biblical revelation and inspiration underlying the Augsburg Confession. Any spirituality, however, if at any time they had it, had died out of their logomachies.

In the twentieth century, all good Turks profess a belief that the German Emperor has embraced their religious faith. In the sixteenth century the predecessor of the later Tübingen school opened communications with Jeremie, the Constantinople patriarch, with a view to the reunion of the Greek and Lutheran Churches. As for Mohammed, the promoter of the cirenicon just mentioned clenched his abuse of those who had found a sort of Mecca at Geneva by declaring that the followers of Calvin were to be bracketed with Papists and Turks. Meanwhile, the pseudo-priestly spawn of the Reformation only used their emancipation from the Vatican to prostrate themselves before a godless throne and to make themselves the 'parasites' of an agnostic State. While the Reformation had been only in process of establishment, its clerical votaries, even when summoned to the palace, conformed but reluctantly and partially to Court customs.

Very different was it with the race of divines who followed them. The royal chaplains had completely cast

off every shred not only of professional bigotry, but of religious deportment and often social decency. They mingled on equal and intimate terms with the men and women of pleasure, who, when they could not use them as tools, regarded and crushed them as reptiles. The supreme achievement on which the seventeenth and eighteenth century Lutheran clergy prided themselves was that their founder by crushing all papal or priestly competition had invested the civil ruler, whoever he might be, with the divine right formerly incarnated in the Bishop or Pope. The doctrine of passive obedience was never so uncompromisingly declared by a Filmer or a Caroline bishop as by an academic lick-spittle of Würtemberg named Pfaff, who claimed it as Luther's most glorious service that he had outdone the Jesuits themselves in maintaining abject submission to the will of the magistrate. Therefore, argued another evangelist, Dr. Masius, all princes should be Lutherans not from religious motives, but as the best means of guaranteeing their temporal ascendancy.

All this came as a revelation not less absolutely undreamed of than unwelcomed to the Pharisaic censors who at the opening of the struggle reprobated an alliance of Protestant England with idolatrous France and superstitious Russia against the traditionally God-fearing and pure-minded kingdom of the Kaiser. As in these matters Germany was such, she is still. Happily the faith of many among her households may be distinguished from that of her corporate personality, the State. Throughout the length and breadth of Teuton Protestantism, Erastianism has been organized into an oppressive and dictatorial tyranny, having little or nothing in common with the State-Church régime in other lands. In Germany, ecclesiastical affairs are not legislated on by a Parliament or regulated by a body corresponding with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A camarilla, not without some nominal religious element, but as secular as the belligerent bureaucracy which dominates Berlin, over-rides the clerical consistory about

which one sometimes hears. The same body may prescribe to the ministers not only their official dress but the very texts, length, and argument of their sermons.

The truth, of course, is that the well-meaning Prusso-philism, which 'could have wished to see England Germany's friend rather than foe,' mistook Luther himself for Lutheranism. Their devotion to the man and the principle for which he stood blinded them to the corruptions and infirmities of the religious polity that bears his name. Yet even so they might have remembered that Luther's supreme authority was not the letter of Revelation, but the spirit animating it, and ever ready to enter into communion with the pure, meek, and lowly heart.

The current versions of Luther's applied Christianity were so misrepresented, distorted, and even caricatured by controversialists who placed the State above the truth that between three and four centuries after his death a famous Berlin theologian, Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889), was moved to vindicate the higher character of the national faith and formulate in a series of annotated propositions the inner convictions of its founder. The relations borne by these to the politico-theological deliverances of the Potsdam oracles may be gathered from the prominence which Ritschl gave to the practical, ethical, and social side of Christianity. To the speculative intellect God may be undemonstrable. He makes Himself known, as He has promised, to those who search for Him and who have brought themselves to think of Him as Love. Such are the leading ideas to be deduced from the creator of the Ritschlian school and its later disciples. Few, however, of these, not even excepting Prof. Herrmann, of Marburg, emulate their master's comparative clearness of thought and expression; while Herrmann himself moves 'in a spiritual atmosphere,' as Mr. Rawlinson puts it, 'too rarefied even for the soul of a professor.'¹

¹ See *Foundations*, 'The Principle of Authority,' by the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, M.A., page 373.

The truth is that the supposed kinship of English Evangelicalism to German Protestantism comes chiefly from the latter's association with certain saintly names and writings. People think of the humble scholar, Bengel and his devoted service to the New Testament; of the mystic Boehme, with his English pupils, Sir Isaac Newton and Henry More; of Spener, who founded the Pietists, the German counterparts of the English Puritans; and of Paul Gerhardt, the Lutheran hymn-writer. The last of these refused all opportunities of promotion as a Court pastor, and indeed preferred to face the highest wrath of State rather than countenance the royal attempt to amalgamate the Lutheran and other Churches in 1606. Miss Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica* formed a close reproduction of the original, and gave him in England a place by the side of the *Lyra Apostolica* and the *Christian Year*. His Passion hymn, it may be mentioned in passing, brought to a really good man, the already-mentioned Albrecht Ritschl, during a temporal eclipse of faith that preceded his death, the same comfort found in it by many others, both before and since that time.

As little identified with the State-Church as Gerhardt himself were the founder of Pietism, Spener, and his chief pupil, Francke. Both these, principally, of course, Spener, wrote books that became manuals in English evangelical households during the last century's first half; and that popularity explains the disinclination of many good people to think evil of German persons or things before the damning evidence afforded by the war.

The most impressive and elaborate attempt to spiritualize German religion has been made during the last half century by a Leipzig professor. Christoph Luthardt's writing on Christianity in its ethical aspect has proved of more general usefulness than his *Commentary on St. John*, and has even had its weight as a protest against the antinomianism which in some places misguided enthusiasm has reduced to a system.

By the eighteenth century, Lutheranism had reached a point of degeneracy at which it became the delight of unbelievers and the despair or disgust of those who had not yet renounced the idea of a divine revelation. Frederick the Great (1712-1786) had detested every form of Christianity from his childhood. With Voltaire for his guide, philosopher, and friend at Potsdam, and other less famous French free-thinkers for his 'satellites,' he posed during his later years as a personification of the most infallible wisdom possible for the human mind.

Among his fellow countrymen Frederick the Great found a special favourite in a clergyman named Bahrdt, whom the monarch admired for his licentious life and foul tongue, making him the most conspicuous disgrace to his cloth whom any of that generation had seen. In 1783 the scandal of a Christian pastor like Bahrdt had become too great for the authorities of Lutheranism itself. Drummed out of his church, he found a lay fellow assailant in the naturalist Wunsch, whose verbal outrages on the Deity of the Christians are too gross for modern typography, but had hugely delighted the monarch, then within three years of his death, and had given them the same sort of vogue in the Court circle and the best Prussian houses that had been enjoyed two centuries earlier in the palace and the whole *entourage* of Queen Elizabeth by Sidney's *Arcadia*.

From the obscenities of the ordained divines and their secular colleagues, one experiences some relief in turning to the anti-Christian pronouncements of the philosophers. These, at least, are decent. The German thinkers of the eighteenth century, indeed, evaporated Christianity and even Deism into a sentiment, and reduced those sacred books which Luther had relieved his imprisonment in the Wartburg by translating, to the same level of uninspired authority as the Zendavesta, the Veda, and the Koran.

Immanuel Kant has been credited with the philosophic toleration of, if not a belief in the Christian system. He

brackets its earliest documents with the scriptures of other religions. 'Prudent, honest-minded teachers have so long glossed and refined upon the text as to make it very nearly square with the general precepts of morality. In this way the Greek and Roman sages sublimated the coarsest polytheism into a symbolic representation of one divine essence. So Judaism, nay, Christianity itself, consists in great measure of such strange senses.' Kant, therefore, it will be seen, did not so much deny Revelation as leave nothing for Revelation to reveal; though in the latter case the transition to the denial of the supernatural is as inevitable as in the former. Kant's immediate successor, both as regards influence and method, Fichte, still more largely concerned himself with this question of the supernatural. So far from absolutely rejecting miracles he would believe them and indeed anything else, provided it did not imply anything in the nature of a celestial communication.

Thus we reach the point at which the reaction of the war upon the German mind to-day becomes perfectly intelligible. Hegel's absolute logic, Fichte's absolute *ego*, and Schelling's absolute intuition all practically mean much the same thing. Their principle is that to some extent the human mind, in all cases, but more perfectly the German mind than any other, can master every department of knowledge, not only of mental and physical phenomena here, but of the entire Universe and the Infinite itself.

Yet the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Incarnation fare better at the hands of the German philosophers than of the Lutheran doctors. The supreme articles of the Christian faith are, of course, rationalized; but they are not bespattered with filthy abuse to princes who profess to reign by Divine right or to tickle the ears of the groundlings. By this time it would have been in some degree one of the spiritual reactions of the war to modify the preconception of worthy but unreflecting and uninstructed persons among us as to the character of the German religion and the stages by which

German philosophy, with Bernhardt and Nietzsche, at last elaborated the glorified idea of German predestination in the person of the superman to cry havoc, to let slip the dogs of war at will, and, if necessary, to restrict the very right of breathing to those furnished with an imperial permit. If this be not Christianity, then for Christianity so much the worse. That has been the refrain of innumerable sermons preached from Hamburg and other pulpits, all of them being 'tuned' by the military bureaucrats surrounding the imperial throne.

In the upper house of the Prussian Diet, Dr. Reinke had, after a manner, given warning to the Christian Godhead that 'unless things went better in the field for the Central Powers, we Germans might turn to the gods of our Teutonic forefathers, whose myths divided among several ideal figures what Oriental Christian teaching embodies as a whole in the image of God.' This, if it means anything, would imply a return to the cult of Odin, not as the creator of the world, but its ruler, king of heaven and earth, and of his son, Thor, strongest of all gods and men, red-bearded, chariot-mounted, invoked by the rest of the celestial hierarchy in any trouble with the sons of men, ever ready to swing the hammer, whose impact shatters rocks, trees, the skulls of giants, and, as perhaps it might be added, armoured cars. Father Gratry's criticisms of the vicissitudes of German thought are condensed into the incidental notice of Hegel, early in his first volume. No better English commentary can be found on them than Sir Edward Russell's discourse about 'Your Ideals—and Mine.'

Some time has passed since Baron Friedrich von Hügel, in his two volumes on *The Mystical Element of Religion* (1908, 1909), expanded a truth already set forth in his periodical addresses or writings, 'Germany is becoming materialistic in practice because she has so long been materialistic in philosophy.' Within manageable limits, the English language contains no account of these processes

more compendious, more complete, and so apposite to twentieth-century developments as Dr. Vaughan's 'German Philosophy and Christian Theology' in the second volumes of his *Essays*. Father Gratry is not only an eminent Oratorian, an expert and broad-minded master of papal theology, but the Professor of Modern Theology at Sorbonne and a member of the French Academy. From the literary point of view his work is equal to Renan when at what English readers will consider that accomplished writer's best. Among the deeper influences of the war on French feeling and thought is the revived interest of the educated public in the two volumes forming *La Connaissance de Dieu*.

Mr. Houston Chamberlain's panegyrics on the German character, Court, and conduct are being more or less neutralized by Baron Hügel's pen as well as convincingly countered by events. The Bishop of London was felt to have given a not exaggerated summary of the facts when he spoke the other day of its having been a mistake to think of Germany as a Christian country. The same authority had from personal observation been able before this to say that 'the English soldiers had found God in the trenches.' Other considerations, scarcely less important than those already mentioned, suggest themselves as among the consequences of what history will call the greatest event of the twentieth century. Not only, after the fashion already shown, have personal sympathies, reacting upon the English body politic, drawn lines of social cleavage—not, it is to be hoped, very deep or lasting, yet for the time inconsistent with absolute unity—but in its practical working the enforcement of universal service has generated some amount of personal friction and class jealousy. That, indeed, has never been serious, and has probably been forgotten even by those with whom it found passing expression.

Our 'lower middle classes,' to use a clumsy and ungracious but convenient phrase, like some above or below them, have long resented the aristocratic or plutocratic vulgarity that

has flaunted its wealth, its ease, its idleness and luxury in the face of those whose chronic experience is that of the pinching shoe. These have heard a good deal about the simple and strenuous life lived by every section of the Kaiser's subjects. They may even have read his own words after one of his visits to England some years ago concerning the superiority of the English over his own people in the matter of the '*convénances*' of domestic life, the equipments of their houses generally, and in particular the wealth of rugs and carpets in their drawing-rooms. That has formed another recommendation of the German Emperor's personality with great masses of both sexes among our fellow subjects. As regards the health and comfort of the home, Sir James Crichton-Browne and other authorities of the same kind will not be in fault if those of our countrymen whom we are now waiting to welcome back do not find in the matter of hygiene and cuisine some real improvement since they left. There also, it may be hoped, some good may result from the National Mission of Repentance and Hope. Decency and virtue have thus a chance of coming by their own again, and the Devil will not be allowed a monopoly of English amusement.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

BYPATHS OF PAPAL HISTORY

The Papal Chancery. By DR. R. L. POOLE. (Camb. University Press. 9s. net.)

DR. R. L. POOLE'S Birkbeck Lectures on *The Papal Chancery* deal with the somewhat technical and little studied science of diplomatic, but everything is so clearly put and so interestingly written that the general reader will find therein both instruction and amusement. No other volume in our own language, so far as I am aware, covers quite the same ground.

At the period of its greatest power, the authority of the Papacy was to all intents and purposes world-wide. Seated above kings, the Supreme Pontiff wielded an authority which, limited by no national frontiers, was coterminous with Christendom itself. The business of the Holy Roman Court was of course immense; and it was, save in special circumstances, carried on by letter. These letters, which occupied so considerable a place in the world's governance in the Middle Ages, are commonly though somewhat loosely referred to as Bulls. The Bull proper was, however, as we shall see, one only of the several types of letter employed, albeit a very important one.

In the preparation of letters which were an instrument of government it was, of course, urgently necessary that the strictest precautions against forgery should be taken. In a comparatively illiterate and entirely uncritical age a false document would pass muster more readily than in our own, though even now a clever imposture is, apart from special training, by no means easy to detect. The Papal Letters were, in consequence, fenced about with elaborate safeguards, and were guaranteed by certain fairly obvious—if not at times too obvious—marks of genuineness. Their preparation thus became, so to speak, a profession of itself, carried

on by a special staff of papal notaries in strict accord with set rules for composition, and formal arrangement of subject-matter.

Dr. Poole essays the careful examination of 'the machinery by which the Pope's business was done and the work which that machinery produced; in other words, to trace the history of the Papal Chancery and to describe the documents written in it, the manner in which those documents were drawn up, the persons through whose hands they passed, and the processes which they underwent before they were issued.'

The Letters of the Popes naturally fall into two groups, the dividing line between which is to be found in the pontificate of Adrian I (772-95), one of whose letters still survives in fragmentary form, the earliest extant papal document. From this time onward original copies begin to be available, in very small numbers at first. The second original, for instance, is a Privilege of Paschal I bearing the date 819; but their numbers gradually increase, until after the use of papyrus had been superseded in favour of that of parchment in the Chancery of Benedict VIII about the close of the second decade of the eleventh century¹ they become fairly abundant. From the period Adrian I—Leo IX (1049-54) some forty originals in all are now available. For the period preceding Adrian I we are, of course, dependent upon transcripts, more or less reliable as the case may be, of the Papal Letters included in volumes compiled in the interests of the definition of law. Some further light as to the occasion and the conditions under which the Pope's correspondence was carried on may be gleaned from the early collections of Lives of the Popes now embodied in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and from the *Liber Diurnus*, this latter being a sort of manual of chancery practice.

Dr. Poole divides the Papal documents into five groups:

¹ For the question of the dates of this pontificate cf. my *Mediaeval Papacy*, pp. 90, 91 (note).

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1. From earliest times to Adrian I (788). Here the characteristic feature is the absence of originals.

2. Adrian I—Leo. IX (1048), during which period originals began to appear. Some authorities group these two periods together.

3. Leo IX—Martin V (1417). Differences in the character of papal documents came to be marked by elaborate distinctions in the decorative features of the documents themselves.

A fourth period is sometimes made by dividing this period at 1198, the year of the accession of Innocent III. This break Dr. Poole rejects as being marked by no essential change of form. He further suggests that, if break there must be, it were well to place it at the accession of Innocent II in 1180, when the Simple Privilege, less ornate in form and style than the Solemn Privilege or Great Bull, may be said to have taken a definite place in the papal correspondence. Some students of diplomatic close this period at a date somewhat later than that given above, viz. : with the pontificate of Eugenius IV (1431-47).

The later periods, as lying beyond the scope of the work which he has immediately in hand, Dr. Poole does not discuss. They are, however, it may be convenient to mention :

4. Martin V—Sixtus IV (1471-84), otherwise known as the age of Briefs, i.e. Apostolic Letters with reference to personal papal matters, or the Papal States, or granting indulgences. As the name (*brevi manu*) imports, they were written in less solemn style, and attested with a less solemn signature than the foregoing ; and were sent forth under the Seal of the Fisherman. They came into general use under the administration of Eugenius IV (1431-47). The documents known as Signatura or Latin Letters were coming into vogue just about the time that this period was giving place to the next.

5. Innocent VIII (1484-92)—the present day, the age of the *Motu proprio*, i.e. communications used in adminis-

tration bearing the papal indorsement 'Placet et ita motu proprio mandamus.'

A Bull, to quote the *multum in parvo* definition given by Dr. Poole, 'consists formally of a text placed between two protocols.' Expanding this terse summary, the full contents of the document in question may be tabulated as follows :—

1. *Protocol*,¹ which includes (i) *Intitulatio*, i.e. the Pope's name and title, the former followed almost invariably by 'Episcopus, servus servorum Dei.' The *Intitulatio* is sometimes preceded by an *Invocation* in the form of a chrism ✕ or plain-cross; (ii) *Inscriptio*, i.e. name of addressee; (iii) *Salutatio*, or Greeting, which gradually assumes the form that has persisted down to our own day 'salutem et apostolicam benedictionem,' with some variations, e.g. 'perpetuam in Domino salutem.' Privileges, it may be remarked, have no greeting; their protocol ends with the words 'in perpetuum.' The Greeting was confined to Letters.

2. *Text*, which comprised (i) *Arenga*, or Preamble, enunciating in various formulae the obligations of the Pope's duty or authority; (ii) *Narratio*, or statement of the case, which was not infrequently combined with (iii) *Dispositio*, or Enacting Clause, the one describing the situation with which the Pope was to deal, the other recording his decision; (iv) *Sanctio*, which may include three clauses :—(a) *Prohibition*, forbidding to obstruct or contravene the execution of the Pope's will; (b) *Penal*, or curse, known from its opening words as the 'Si Quis'; (c) *Benedictio*, or Blessing upon those who carry out the provisions of the charter. This is less frequent than the other two; (v) *Apprecatio*, or Amen, which does not invariably appear.

3. *Eschatol*,² under which head are included (1) *Pope's Subscription*, which after Leo IX is replaced by the Monogram; (ii) *Scriptum*, or Record by the writer that the

¹ κολλάω glue, unite, put together.

² This term is not used by Dr. Poole, but is convenient as marking a real distinction between the Opening and the Final Protocols.

document is his work. It also names the month of writing ; (iii) *Datum*, or statement that the document was 'given by the hand of' a competent chancery official, together with notice of the day of the month, and the year, imperial, pontifical, or A.D., as the case might be.

This description of the contents of a Papal Bull applies in strictness only to the more solemn form of privilege, and to that during the second period indicated above. The number of Simple Letters belonging to this period whose originals remain to us is too small to afford data adequate to the formulation of any precise rules as to their structure.

A document of the type analysed above was finally completed by the attachment of the leaden seal or *Bulla*, whence the bull got its name, by means of parchment ribbons or, more usually, strings of silk or hemp. By the mid-twelfth century the material of which the string was composed had become a matter of some importance as an indication of the character of the Letter to which it was attached. Silk was now used in the case of such as established rights (*Tituli*, or *Litterae de Gratia*), and were in consequence of the nature of title deeds, and as such intended to be preserved ; the coarser material was used in the case of those that were of the nature of orders (*Mandamenta*, or *Litterae de Justitia*), the presumption, perhaps, being that such documents would be destroyed when their orders had been carried out.

Tituli or Letters of Grace were issued to grant or to confirm rights, confer benefices, promulgate statutes or decrees, or decide causes ; they may be described in a word as being, generally speaking, of the nature of a licence or a grant. They often fulfil the same purpose as had been effected at an earlier date by the Privilege, with which type of document they present some marked structural affinities. Intended, as already observed, to be preserved their text was more formal, and their writing more decorative than in the case of Mandates or Letters of Justice. These latter documents were used to convey the Pope's administrative orders,

by injunction or prohibition, or by the appointment of commissioners for the discharge of some special duty. They include also the bulk of the official papal correspondence on political and administrative matters, *Litterae Secretae* or *Litterae de Curia*, as they became technically known.

By the twelfth century the volume of papal business had become so great that it was impossible for the Pope to examine personally every document issued by his authority. Routine matters were, in consequence, dealt with by means of *Litterae in Forma Communi*, the terms of which were left to the chancery officials. But in the event of the subject-matter of a document being new or controversial, a legal definition, or a statement of policy, it was referred to the Pope for his hearing and approval, whence it was known as a *Littera Legenda*. By the close of the thirteenth century these two types of communication were distinguished by the form of the initial capital which followed the greeting.

A very large staff was employed in secretarial work. A brief account of its origin and personnel may be not out of place.

At a comparatively early date the Roman See became a considerable holder of property, and was, in consequence, involved in a proportionate amount of secular business, which was discharged by clerks or notarii distributed among the seven ecclesiastical regions of the metropolis. A worthless tradition, preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis*, attributes the formation of these regions to Clement, who is further said to have provided each of them with a notary for the purpose of recording the acts of the local martyrs. We are, however, upon firmer ground if we assume that the division of the city into seven ecclesiastical regions¹ was already an accomplished fact in the mid-third century, and that in the notaries attached thereto may be found the nucleus of the

¹ These ecclesiastical regions must of course be distinguished from the fourteen civil regions of Augustus. For a clear discussion of the points involved reference may be made to Poole, pp. 6-12, 170-77.

papal secretariat to come, the starting-point in fact of the Papal Chancery.

After the entire change of status which all Christian institutions underwent at the hands of Constantine, the notaries of the Church, who were usually in minor orders, seem to have formed themselves, after the manner of the notaries of the Imperial Court, into a schola or guild, with its various officers and gradations of rank. The chief officer of the Guild was the *Primicerius Notariorum*, a most important personage, who together with the Archpriest and Archdeacon was the guardian of the spiritualities of the Holy Roman See during a vacancy, besides being regularly employed in diplomacy and administration. It was further his duty, when the preparation and dispatch of the papal correspondence had become of a technical character, to date the documents before sending out, viz. to ratify them and to guarantee that they had the Pope's authority. In this duty he was assisted by the officer next in rank, the *Secundicerius*, and with one exception by the remaining five great officers who with these two were known as *Judices Palatini*.

Immediately after the *Secundicerius* ranked the *Arcarius* or keeper of the chest, who, originally a subordinate official, eventually rose to importance as the Pope's Treasurer. The first mention of this officer occurs in a sixth-century inscription. The *Saccellarius*, or Pope's Paymaster, was often a regionary notary, and at a later period not infrequently also *Bibliothecarius* or Librarian.¹ He apparently took his place upon the papal staff after the reconquest of Italy in the mid-sixth century.

¹ The importance acquired by the Librarian appears to have arisen out of the Pope's need for a personal subordinate, a *factotum* dependent upon himself alone. The members of the Notarial College were of course technically his officers, but in practice they not infrequently represented the aims and policy of the Roman nobility, to which most of them belonged. The Papal Library and Archives had originally been in the charge of one of the Palatine Judges, but under Adrian I a special Librarian makes his appearance, and from the time of Paschal I (817-24) he was employed in dating documents, a duty which continued in growing measure to be committed to his hands. He was almost always a bishop.

The Primus Defensor seems to have made his appearance as the sixth century was drawing to a close. He not only acted as guardian of the poor, of widows and of orphans, but was also employed in various departments of administration. He was, in all probability, usually a notary. The Nomenculator, otherwise known as the Amminiculator, first appears rather later, in the last quarter of the seventh century. What exactly his duties were is not quite clear, but among them were those of dealing with petitioners to the Pope, and the introduction of envoys to the Roman Synods.

One other officer remains, the Protus, Protoscrinarius, or Primiscrinarius, of whom, however, we hear nothing before 861, and whose position appears to have been slightly different from that of the foregoing. He was not one of the papal notaries, but the head of the Tabelliones or public scribes. The Tabelliones originally formed a civic guild and had no connexion with the Church, though eventually, as the papal business increased, they became absorbed into the papal service. Originally discharging functions not unlike those of a solicitor in our own day, their head might be, and often was, a layman, though the office eventually became a clerical one. When the Protus at length became attached to the office of the Papal Notaries he was still employed in routine work, having charge of the writing of documents, without, however, the power to authenticate or complete them for publication; the 'dating' of the papal correspondence still remained with the higher officers.¹

These seven officers were known as the Judices Ordinarii or Palatini; they formed the principal clerical staff of the Pope, and by the end of the tenth century had attained to a position of no small importance, taking their recognized part in imperial elections, and, along with the Roman clergy, in that of the Pope.

¹ From the time of Adrian I the Eschatol of a document carefully states who wrote and dated it. This distinction between *Scriptum* and *Data*, to use the technical expression, continued until the twelfth century, when the *Scriptum* died out under Callistus II.

Though not one of the Palatine Judges, the Librarian took a leading part in the work of the Papal Chancery. A personage of growing importance, he reigned undisturbed until the time of John XVIII (1003-9), seven of whose documents, dated by 'Peter Abbas et Cancellarius Sacri Lateranensis Palatii,' supply the first certain instances of the employment of the Frankish imperial title of Chancellor as applied to an officer of the Pope. This is one only of several changes in the papal services which suggest a partial remodelling thereof after the pattern of the civil service of the empire. Under Benedict IX (1033-45) Peter the Deacon was appointed Librarian and Chancellor of the Holy Apostolic See, while the absence from the city of the German pontiff, Clement II (1046-47), may probably account for the introduction of a non-Roman element into the papal secretariat. In these changes, moreover, we may perhaps discern the origin of a personal staff in constant attendance upon the Head of the Church whether in or away from the city of Rome. From these beginnings evolve two organizations, which existed side by side, both engaged in what may be briefly described as Chancery work. These were the *Scrinium*, representing the old notarial office and permanently fixed in Rome; and the *Sacrum Palatium*, whose location was indifferently in Rome or elsewhere, being determined solely by the whereabouts of the Pope's person for the time being. When, however, the latter was resident in Rome the two offices seem to have shared in the conduct of Chancery business.

Under the vigorous administration of the able Bruno of Toul as Pope Leo IX (1049-54) the Chancery underwent a further process of imperialization, not to say Germanization, so far as its organization and forms were concerned. Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, the Imperial Archchancellor of Italy, for instance, was made by Leo Archchancellor of the Apostolic See. There is, however, no evidence that the Pope intended to confer anything beyond an honorary

dignity by this appointment ; for, in practice, the Chancellor Frederick still continued to act as Datary. As an indication of tendency, the appointment is, none the less, significant enough.

One result of these changed conditions and the frequent absence of the Pope, together with his personal staff, from Rome, was a change in the type of handwriting employed in the correspondence. The extra-Roman scribes sometimes omitted to record their names in the documents for which they were responsible. The growing prevalence of this practice led to the gradual disappearance of the scriptum from the papal correspondence. After the time of Callistus II (1119-24) the Roman notaries ceased to be employed, and the scriptum henceforth disappeared ; its disappearance marked the victory of the Palatium over the Scrinium, the personal staff of the Pope over the old Notarial College.

In spite of these changes the regular Datary continued to be described as Chancellor or Librarian, or both until, the Archives and the Library having been separated, each with its own principal officer, after the death of Celestine II (1144) the Librarian at length disappears in this connexion. The Chancellor is now regularly a Cardinal Priest or a Cardinal Deacon, but never, with one irregular exception, a Cardinal Bishop. During this period the Chancellor invariably wrote his own name in the Datum either personally or by deputy. In the event of his absence from Court for a lengthened period, a Cardinal signed in his stead as Vice-Chancellor ; while during short absences a subordinate signed by his own rank and office. Innocent III was the last mediæval Pope to appoint a Chancellor ; after the accession of Honorius III (1216) no Chancellor was appointed, until, by the constitution *Sapienti Consilio* of Pius X in our own day, the head of the Papal Chancery again received the long-disused title of Chancellor.

After the disappearance of the Chancellor the Vice-Chancellor became the real head of the Chancery. He was

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now chosen on the ground of technical competence from the lower ranks of the secretariat. But as time went on the increasing importance of his position led to his frequent admission to the College of Cardinals, until, from the time of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) it became the usual, and at last the invariable practice to raise him to the cardinalate shortly after appointment. The next step was to allow a Cardinal to be made Vice-Chancellor; and it seems to have become the rule that he should be such under John XXII (1316-34). The reform effected by Honorius III in the interests of efficient administration was thus finally undone. In 1532, under Clement VII, the office was permanently attached to the cardinalate of St. Lorenzo in Damaso, but it had already long been a purely honorary distinction and involved no active participation in Chancery duties. The last appearance of the Vice-Chancellor's name in the Datum of a Bull seems to have been under Clement VI, nearly two hundred years before.

There is much else in Dr. Poole's volume that one would fain dwell upon. But our space is gone, and enough at any rate has been said to give some idea of its contents, and of its importance as a contribution to the literature of the Papacy. It throws a flood of light upon many points which have heretofore been dark to most of us.

W. ERNEST BEET.

ONE OF CROMWELL'S CHAPLAINS

I

PPETER STERRY—he is simply this on the title-page of his writings, or, in some cases, Peter Sterry, M.A.—was a native of Surrey, and entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on October 21, 1629. Nothing is known of his parentage ; but the fact that he went to Emmanuel seems to indicate a Puritan home, and the fact that he went as a sizar seems to imply some degree of poverty. After graduating B.A. in 1633, he was elected Fellow in 1636, and proceeded M.A. the year following. This is proof enough of his scholarship. For the rest, our light on his university career is limited to the statement that he and ‘one Sadler were the first who were observed to make a public profession of Platonism.’ If we remember that Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683) had entered the college three years before Sterry (1626), became Fellow in 1633, and Tutor as well as Fellow in 1634, we can guess the medium of Sterry’s Platonism. Whichcote, in fact, if not a Platonist himself, was the one who set his pupils on reading Plato and cherishing those ‘better thoughts,’ born of Platonism, which tended to sweeten the spirit of Calvinism and widen its outlook. Being a most genial personality, no less than an excellent teacher, he was soon ‘famous for the number, rank, and character of his pupils.’ Nathanael Culverwell (1615 ?–1650 ?), John Smith (1616–1652), Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) were among the men who passed through his hands, and professed, as John Smith put it, to ‘live’ more or less ‘on Dr. Whichcote.’ Henry More (1614–1687), another of his circle, was of Christ Church College.

Sterry had a temperamental affinity with the new influence, and might be expected to take the lead in yielding himself ardently to it. By temperament he was a mystic,

if a mystic may be described as a man absorbed in the study or experience of God. At the same time, he was a Calvinist ; and he did not cease to be a Calvinist when he became a Platonist. There is a link between Calvinism and Platonism in the fact that both endeavour to conceive and construe the universe from the standpoint of the divine nature. The difference between them may be said to lie in their view of the divine character. Sterry's Platonism led him, while allowing full scope to the power and justice and wisdom of God, to put the goodness of God first and last. This was a new phenomenon in Puritanism.

When he left Cambridge is not clear ; but he settled in London some time before May, 1642, when he was one of the fourteen divines nominated by the House of Lords for the Westminster Assembly. Though he seems to have taken but little part in its debates, and is found on none of its committees, he was still a member in September, 1646, and marked as a 'notorious Independent,'¹ and a 'zealous and firm advocate to the Parliament.' This would recommend him to Lord Brook, to whose wife (after his death in Lichfield fight, 1642) he became chaplain in 1644. His association with Sir Harry Vane is revealed by his being examined, near the same time, about a plot in which the latter was suspected to have a hand. At least from November, 1645, he was an occasional preacher before the House of Commons or Lords ; for on the 26th of that month—'the solemn day of their monthly fast'—he preached from the text, John xvi. 8, and presently published his sermon under the title, 'The Spirit convincing of Sinne.' He tells 'the Honourable Knights and Burgesses' that his one desire had been 'so to speak as that their souls, counsels, wars may be carried on by the Spirit of God Who, in the language of the Scriptures, is not only the dove for Purity and Peace, but also the true Eagle for Wisdom and Power.' Very heart-searching was

¹ Along with Philip Rye and others ; see *Athenae Oxon.*, iii. 912.

the preacher's application of his theme ; and one hopes that Cromwell was there. He, at any rate, would relish the doctrine, however 'high-pitched' might be some of the expressions in which it was set forth. Sir Benjamin Rudyard styled his preaching 'too high for this world and too low for the other.' Cromwell's appreciation of him was instinctive. The mystic strain which repelled a clear-cut dialectician like Richard Baxter attracted the Protector. Baxter associated him with Sir Harry Vane, and questioned 'whether vanity and sterility had ever been more happily conjoined.'

Sterry's sermons were seldom doctrinal in the current sense of the term. They were always concerned with the deep things of the Spirit, and with these as directly related to their manifestation in the events of the time. Every victory or defeat in the great fight of the people for what he believed to be the cause of justice and liberty was to him an operation of the 'Spirit,' and a sign of his approval or disapproval—a call to repentance or thanksgiving.¹ Cromwell saw this so vividly that he wondered why men should look for any other, or clearer, outward 'sign.' To them both History, made or in the making, contained the living Word of God. Hence it was natural that the two should draw together ; and that, in due time, the preacher should be appointed one of the Lord General's chaplains in ordinary (July, 1649). He had to preach at Whitehall or Hampton Court on Sundays, and every other Thursday morning at the former. He had (for some months) been a Preacher to the Council of State at a salary of £100 a year. With his chaplaincy the allowance was doubled ; and he had lodgings in Whitehall. Tolerance of varying religious opinions sprang at once out of Sterry's intensely spiritual faith ; and it is easy to see that a like faith on Cromwell's part inspired the well-nigh unlimited tolerance for which he was conspicuous. Sterry was the preacher when 'the High Court of Parlia-

¹ See, e.g. page 7 of his sermon on the 'Clouds in which Christ comes,' Rev. i. 7, October 27, 1647 (preached before the House of Commons).

ment' met in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on November 5, 1651, to render thanks for the 'crowning mercy' at Worcester on September 8; and it was Cromwell's voice, no doubt, which had nominated him for this great distinction. He celebrated the occasion as 'England's deliverance from the Northern Presbytery compared with a deliverance from the Roman Papacy'; and no loftier plea, if regard be had to the grounds of it, could have been urged on behalf of spiritual freedom. He had no quarrel with Presbyterianism in itself. In the dedication to this sermon he speaks of the Scottish Church as that which, in his opinion, possesses almost the purest form of government. But the attitude of the Presbyterians, both in Scotland and England, towards differing forms had entered like iron into his soul; and had driven him to the conclusion that, if anything, they were worse foes to liberty than the Papists. The corruption of the best turns to the worst; and the same anti-Christian temper which rules in the Papacy (he says) becomes fuller of 'dispite and danger' in the purer form of Presbytery, because it is then fuller of 'mystery,' *i.e.*, more subtle and concealed in its working. And what is the specifically anti-Christian temper? It is, to value unduly the form (of a Church or a doctrine) in such wise as to make it a bar between a man and his brethren, or between the soul and its living Lord; and so 'fetter' the sweet 'outgoings' of the Spirit. Cromwell must have felt his soul refreshed that day.

A few sentences may suffice for further details of his life. His mysticism does not seem to have made him impractical. He was a man of affairs. He is seen making an inventory of the State Records (1653-1654). He reports on some works in MS. which the Council have a mind to purchase; he examines Archbishop Usher's library, and advises what part of it might be bought by the State; he acts as one of the 'Triers' and (possibly) as assistant Latin Secretary under Milton. In 1654 he sits in the 'Conference' intended by the Protector to open the way for admission

of the Jews to citizenship ;] and was (we may be sure) not one of the clerical majority who crossed his project.

Cromwell's death (September 8, 1658) threw him into the shade. He retired to Hackney ; took pupils to eke out his means of livelihood ; preached, as he could, to ' a gathered people ' ; and was one of the first for whom a licence was obtained under the Indulgence Act of 1672.¹ On November 19 following he died—' full of those joys ' (says his editor) ' in which he was taken up ' ; and testifying that ' it then pleased God to give him full assurance of those truths he had taught to others.' To his enemies he was a ' blasphemer,' a ' Parasite,' one who always kept ' on that side of the hedge which had proved trump.' To those who knew him best he was an object of wonder and affection. One of these² speaks particularly of the ' fullness of his thought which seemed to overflow and to be never straitened—how sublime soever the subjects he engaged in—although strength of body often failed him.' Another³ dares not venture to speak, so great is his ' love and veneration ' lest we should ' offend against the Spring ' while ' commending the Stream.' Nevertheless—he goes on—' our author was indeed a true father in Christ, and so esteemed by all who knew him : for his own great understanding and experience in divine things ; for the excellency of his ministry—whereby he did in Jesus Christ, through the Gospel, beget and edify many ; as also for the great tender-

¹ It was granted at the instance of Edward Bushell (on May 16) for services to be held at his house at Homerton or Little St. Helen's (see article on the Bushells of Frodsham, in Transactions of Congregational Historical Society, vol. vi., No. 5). Bushell was distantly related to Sterry (*ibid.*, p. 380). Sterry is named a Presbyterian, but this proves nothing. Nearly all Nonconformists were apt to be called Presbyterian.

² In preface to his volume of sermons entitled ' The Appearance of God to Man '

³ In preface to a second volume of sermons entitled ' The Rise, Race, and Royalty of the Kingdom of God.' Whichcote was ' once in conversation with Sterry on some obscure points in Divinity ' when ' he explained himself with such ease and clearness that the doctor, rising from his seat and embracing him, exclaimed : Peter, thou hast overcome me, thou art all pure intellect.'

ness and father-like bowels which, throughout his whole ministry and in all his other converses, he delighted to be still expressing towards all the weak and little ones. Nor was his skill herein less considerable than his naturalness.' He was 'still careful to provide milk'¹ for the babes whilst setting stronger meat before the men.'

II

Sterry's theology, in many respects, is defiant of system. It is the product of a mind which often lets itself go on the wings of a too exuberant fancy, or is driven along by a rush of poetic sentiment. Hence his arguments are very apt to be interwoven of imagery which, however beautiful, yields no rational meaning. He is woefully lacking in self-criticism. His metaphysics are a bad specimen of that *a priori* philosophy which ran riot before Locke, or even Descartes. He never defines with 'his eye on the object,' but always with reference to some assumed principle of deductive thought. His idea of personality, e.g., both in God and man, is the quintessence of vagueness; and quite powerless to hold him back from that gulf of Pantheism into which he certainly had no wish to fall. Moreover, his Puritan reverence for the Scriptures as, throughout, the infallible Word of God committed him to the hopeless task of discovering, for all his statements, some textual support, and to an allegorical method of interpretation which (as usual) drew out of the text just what it liked to put in; while a natural desire not to break too abruptly with orthodox phraseology constrained him not seldom to press his thoughts into categories to which they had no real relation. He felt bound to be logical; but his soul was lyrical and impatient of logic. Spiritual intuitions of a mystic striving for expression through an intractable mass of conventional formulae, is the picture he suggests. Having said this, however, it

¹ Perhaps a reference to his 'Short Catechism' (in two parts), printed in 'The Appearance of God to Man . . .' pp. 452 ff.

can be added that the general drift and cardinal features of his theology are perfectly clear.

Thus (a) its Calvinism appears in the absoluteness of the place assigned to God. God is Being—all Being. Will is the essence of His being. Everything is the direct effect of His will. There are, in truth, no real secondary causes. There is, strictly speaking, no will besides His; and freedom of will, if by freedom is meant a power to choose or act independently of God, is absurd. 'The will of man in every motion, act and determination of it is from eternity pre-determined in the divine understanding, as in its first cause and original.' 'The connexion, the dependence between God and the creature—the first, the universal Cause and every Effect—is much more universal, intimate, immediate, inseparable than that between any effect and any second cause. We have a demonstration to our sense from the interposal of a Cloud between our eyes and a clear Sky, that the beams are continued streams of light from the body of the Sun. In that moment in which they cease to flow from the Sun, to subsist in the Sun, they cease to be.'¹

(b) The distinctively Christian element appears in the central place assigned to Christ. The Godhead is a Trinity of Life, Light, and Love. Life is identified with the Father. Love is identified with the Spirit as the informing soul of the Father and the Son. Light is identified with the Son. The Son is the 'mind of God,' is the 'Treasury of all ideas.'² He is His Wisdom or His image. The last is Sterry's favourite comparison. The Son is at once the *first* Image of God, 'the clearest and fullest effulgency or brightness of all His glories in His own most proper and most glorious form';³ and, 'in that, the *FIRST* image of the whole Creation and of every creature, as a part of the whole.' Thus, the Son 'standeth in the middle between God and all creatures,

¹ See his posthumous 'Discourse of the Freedom of the Will' (1675), p. 63, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

comprehending *both* entirely in *one*, in Himself.¹ He is also the 'Way by which God descendeth into the Creature, by which the Creation cometh forth from God.' As such, He could become manifest in flesh; and did so in 'our Lord Jesus.' The Incarnation was nothing strange, nor was the Fall which occasioned it. The Fall, with all its seeming miseries, was due to the act of God. God, for His greater glory, withdrew Himself from man ('as it were a handbreadth off') turned away His face, deprived man's understanding of its proper light. This left him to the 'shadowy images' of a darkened world. These Images, as so many will-o'-the-wisps, deluded his will into mistaking and choosing and embracing the false for the true. So, 'the soul *sinks* into the depth of darkness, in which darkness it springs up, the same moment, into the evils of Sin, Deformity, Death, Wrath, Torment.'²

Nevertheless, all is well. The soul's descent has been attended and shared by Christ. 'We are sojourners together in *His land*. He suffers in all our sufferings. *He is in all things made* like unto us, sin only excepted.'³ In human form He drew upon Himself all the 'contrariety' of human sin, and submitted to 'all extremities of suffering.' At the same time, He so identified Himself with man in his sin that He drew upon Himself the whole force of that divine wrath against sin which is only an aspect of divine love—love 'disguising itself' behind a 'fury' which has the destruction of sin for its object. And by this sacrifice to the holiness of God the destruction was achieved. 'Jesus, the supreme harmony, the everlasting Righteousness, by dying, carries the *descent* of things to the *lowest point*. He makes an end of Sin, Sufferings, Wrath and Death for ever, by the dissolution and end of the *seat, the subject* of all these, viz.: *the shadowy Image*. . . . The death of Jesus Christ is as the *midnight* of things. The *Sun* of the eternal Image and

¹ See his posthumous 'Discourse of the Freedom of the Will' (1675), p. 198.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 129.

glory, having by its *course*, in the shadowy Image, touched the *utmost bounds of distance* from itself, now begins to return to itself again.¹

But Jesus (as Paul says) is essentially spirit.² Therefore, 'Jesus in His mediatory Kingdom and glory casts off the Vail of Flesh, as from His divine so from His human nature. The days of His flesh are now past. He is a quickening spirit, all spirit and life. His human nature is now all spirit; and, by having the Godhead, hath the Fountain of Spirit and Life in itself.' Thus, potentially, Death has been done away. Life alone reigns. In union with the risen Christ the whole is rising—man first, as the head; and, through him 'all the particular forms of things as they stand without man in their own proper existences.'³ In fine, 'our Jesus is the *great Jubilee*, where all debts are *remitted*, all Servants go *free*, all persons return to their Inheritances, to the *free possession*, the full fruition of themselves and them. In the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, from Him, as the root springing up into the Body of the Saints, through them into the rest of the Creation as *Branches* of the same tree. All sins are pardoned, the whole Creation is set free from its *bondage* to *Vanity* and Corruption. All things return to a free fruition of themselves, of all Beauties and Joys in their native Inheritance, their original Images, their proper Ideas in Christ. First Christ; then the Saints; then, through them Heaven and Earth and the Seas, with all things in them, are *made new*, by being *married anew*, by being newly *re-invested* with the Glories of their original.'⁴

(c) Accordingly Sterry's theology, centred in Christ, is a grand Theodicy. In the light of God and His Christ he sees the universe as an emanation proceeding by varied stages of darkness and light, from God to God; growing ever more beautiful the more clearly it unfolds; and crowned at last with the out-shining glory of ineffable love.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

² 2 Cor. iii. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

The language of Bailey's 'Festus' might have been his :—

I beheld all things rejoice beneath the light of Love,
Which seems to burn within us and beam through,
Lost in the boundless loneliness of God,
I saw earth's war-scarred countenance sweetly glide
Into the angel-lineaments of peace ;
And gentlest sorrow dream herself to joy.
Tears shed on earth were reaped in heaven in smiles,
And what was sown in sighs was reaped in songs.

Here is a passage which finely illustrates his ruling conception,¹ and is worth quoting for its intrinsic eloquence :—
' A poetical history, or work framed by an excellent spirit, for a Pattern of Wisdom and Worth and Happiness, hath this, as a chief rule, for the contrivance of it, upon which all its Graces and Beauties depend—viz. : that Persons and things be carried to the *utmost extremity*, into a state where they seem altogether incapable of any return to Beauty or Bliss ; that *then*, by just degrees of harmonious proportions, they be raised again to a state of highest Joy and Glory. You have examples of this in the divine pieces of those Divine Spirits (as they are esteemed and styled) *Homer, Virgil, Tasso*, our English *Spenser*, with some few others like to these. The works of these persons are called *Poems*. So is the Work of God in Creation and its contrivance from the beginning to the end named *ποίημα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, God's poem. It is an elegant and judicious Observation of a learned and holy divine, that the Works of Poets, in the excellencies of their imaginations and contrivances, were imitations drawn from those Original Poems, the Divine works and contrivances of the Eternal Spirit. We may by the fairest lights of Reason and Religion thus judge, that excellent Poets, in the heights of their fancies

¹ In Sterry's frequent insistence on the emanative principle is traceable his indebtedness to Platonism or rather Neo-Platonism. Another very marked influence is that of Boehme (1575–1621), whose name indeed he does not seem to mention, but with whom much of his thought and phraseology present a very close affinity. Boehme attracted considerable attention in England ; see, e.g., Charles Hotham's 'Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam,' London, 1648.

and spirits, were touched and warmed with a Divine Ray through which the supream Wisdom formed upon them and so upon their work, some weak impression and obscure Image of itself. Thus it seemeth to be altogether *Divine* that that work shineth in our eyes with the greatest Beauties, infuseth into our Spirits the sweetest delights, transporteth us most out of ourselves unto the kindest and most ravishing touches and senses of the Divinity, which, diffusing itself through the amplest Variety, and so to the remotest Distances, and the most opposed Contrarieties, bindeth up all with an harmonious Order into an *exact unity*; which conveyeth things down by a gradual descent to the lowest Depths and deepest Darknesses; then bringeth them up again to the highest point of all most flourishing Felicities, opening the *beginning in the end*, espousing the end to the beginning. This is that which *Aristotle* in his Discourse of Poetry commendeth to us as the most artful and surprising *untying of the knot*, διὰ ἀνέγνωσιν, or by a *discovery*. This is that which *Jesus Christ* pointeth at in Himself, who is the Wisdom of God, the Manifold Wisdom of God, in Whom all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge lie hid, in whom all the Divine contrivances are formed and perfected. *What will you say, when you shall see the Son of Man return there where He was at first?* ¹

III

Sterry the theologian exposes many a weak spot to the shafts of criticism. But he stands beyond question when in virtue of his theology, he urges the old, oft-forgotten lesson that if God is Love, then the Christian law of life is Love. One of the noblest hymns in praise of Love (outside the New Testament) is chanted by Sterry, in magnificent prose in the preface to that treatise from which most of our quotations have been drawn. The Treatise itself, except for frequent passages and sentences of great beauty, is a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

chaotic performance; and will be dismissed by any matter-of-fact reader who might conceivably attempt its perusal as 'a piece of clotted nonsense.' But in the Preface the writer's inmost heart leaps up; and gleams like a stream of purest crystal in the light of that love which he finds supreme in God and commends as supreme for man.

(1) 'Dear Reader, if thou wouldest be led to that sea which is as the gathering together and confluence of all the Waters of Life, follow the stream of Divine Love as it holdeth on its course, from its head in Eternity through every work of God, through every creature. So shalt thou be not only happy in thine end, but in the way—while this stream of Love shall not only be thy guide by thy side, but shall carry thee along in its soft and delicious bosom, bearing thee up in the bright Arms of its own Divine Power, sporting with thee all along, washing thee white as snow in its own pure floods, and bathing thy whole Spirit and Person in heavenly unexpressible sweetnesses.'

(2) 'Study and practise that great command of Love as the Lesson of thy whole Life, with which alone thou art to entertain thyself, and all the heavenly Company, both here and in Eternity. Let no differences of Principles or Practices divide thee in thine affection from any person. He who seems to me as a Samaritan to a Jew—most worthy of contempt and hatred, most apt to wound and kill me—may hide under the shape of a Samaritan, a generous, affectionate Neighbour, Brother and Friend. When I lie wounded and dying, neglected by those who are nearest to me, most esteemed by me, *this* person may pour Oil and Wine into my Wounds, with tender and constant care, at his own expense, bring me back to life and joy. How evident it hath been in the History of all times, that in Parties most remote one from the other, most opposed one to the other, Persons have been found of equal excellencies in all kinds, of equal integrity to Truth and Goodness. Our most Orthodox Divines, who have been heated and heightened

with the greatest zeal of Opposition to the Pope, as the Antichrist, yet have believed a Pope to have ascended from the Papal Chair to a Throne in Heaven. Had my Education, my Acquaintance, the several Circumstances and Concurrences been the same to me as to this person from whom I now most of all dissent, that which is now *his* sense and state, might have been mine. Have the same just, equal, tender respects and thoughts, with the same allowance, of one another, which thou requirest from him to thyself.'

(3) Calvinists and Arminians were at daggers drawn in Sterry's day. He was true to his own counsel in honouring the 'Persons engaged on both sides,' and in appreciating the special aspect of the truth for which each was contending. 'It is the design of one part to heighten the Grace of God by its freedom and peculiarity; of the other, to enlarge the glory of this Grace by its extent and amplitude.' 'One admires or adores the absoluteness, the sovereignty of God; the other, the goodness.' Then the one grows zealous lest something should be ascribed to man which detracts from the power of God; and the other lest something should be ascribed to God which stains His moral glory. But 'the day will come when men shall say, Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord—Blessed is the peacemaker who shall reconcile, on the one hand, the freedom and peculiarity of the Grace of God unto a full amplitude and extent, so raising its sweetness to a perfect height'; and, on the other, shall (so) bring into mutual embraces the sovereignty or absoluteness of God and His goodness (as) that the sovereignty and absoluteness may be sovereignly and absolutely good; (as) that the goodness alone may be absolute and sovereign.'

(4) It is evident that Sterry himself hoped to be this reconciler, or at least his forerunner. Love is first, and must be given the first place, if Christians are to attain a true knowledge of God and a true fellowship in God with one another. This is his message, and he is full of longing

that it may be received. 'Let love instruct and prompt thee, gentle Reader, to think that the worthless author . . . may have been led by a sacred beam of this love touching his heart from on high, so near unto the borders of the happy regions and kingdoms of Divine Truth as to discover *all to be heaven there*. . . . Then let the sweet waters of this Divine Love, from its own fountain sprinkled upon their heart, raise this candid belief in thee, that as a pair of silver-feathered Doves flying before Aeneas, guided him to the tree laden with golden boughs, in the midst of a thick and obscure wood,¹ so this Discourse, aiming at a resemblance of those beautiful and lovely birds, sacred to love, in a whiteness of unspotted candour, may be a birth of Love, though weak ; and flying low, sent forth to allure and guide thee into the 'everlasting Heavens of divine truth and goodness.' But 'perhaps some one will say, who is this that thus preacheth Love to the world ? Is he a *Dove washt in milk* ?' Far from it in his own eyes. 'No, the only character here is that of a *voice in the wilderness*,—a wilderness of many Deformities and Distractions, *within* as well as *without*,—crying, *Prepare ye the way of Divine Love, make straight paths for it, by bringing down every mountain of Vanity and Pride, by filling up the Vallies of low, dejected, lost, despairing Spirits*. He who thus cries to you too frequently, too deeply, hath *pierced* the side of this Love ; yet still from the *wounded heart—through the wounds—water and blood* flow to wash off the stains of this blood *upon him* ; and by this *blood* as a *Balsam*, as a *cordial*, as a *Spring of Life*, all at once to *heal* his wounds, to *infuse* new vigour and joy into his spirits, to *renew* life in his heart, even out of *Death itself* into *immortality*. This is the *Innocency* and *Wisdom* which make them *blessed* who aspire to it ; who, as often as they fail in their duty of *loving every other person as themselves* are sensible of the *guilt* of breaking the *whole*

¹ Sterry seems to be aware of his own obscurity or rather of that of his subject.

law—which is summed up in these *two great commandments*—and maketh them (as) *inseparable* as the *substance* and the *shadow* in the *sunshine*, or as the *Fountain* and the *Stream*, or the *Sun* and the *similitude* of the Sun in the light surrounding it : to love God with *all* ourselves and to love our neighbour *as* ourselves.'

IV

Sterry wished he 'had a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues, a voice like thunder ; like the voice of God which rends the rocks' if thereby he might be able to move to repentance the warring heart of the 'Christian World' of his day ; and 'so quench that fire which' (said he) 'turns upon your estates, your houses, your relations, your bodies, your souls, even to the nethermost Hell.' But he was a solitary unheeded voice. Most of the few who paused to listen passed on to scoff. Only one here and there felt constrained to stay. One of these was Jeremiah White (1629–1707) who, in publishing a volume of his master's sermons, wrote a preface which he afterwards enlarged into a separate treatise under the title a 'Persuasive to Moderation'—a plea for Christian tolerance of remarkable eloquence and force, and bearing witness on every page to the source of its inspiration. Another disciple might be claimed, perhaps, in Sir Harry Vane, Jr., whose work, 'The Retired Man's Meditations' (1655) was a sympathetic enforcement of the same plea which, for its breadth, provoked dissent from Richard Baxter¹ and prompted his fulsome admirer, Henry Stubbs (1632–1676) (who also professed to be for a 'Toleration of all Opinions,' and wrote his 'Essay in defence of the good old cause' partly for that purpose), to assail Baxter in a scurrilous pamphlet (called 'Malice Rebuked') from which all Christian tolerance was absent. A third disciple² who published a second volume of Sterry's sermons, indulged

¹ In his 'Key for Catholicks,' 1659.

² Perhaps R. Rooch, who edited White's 'Persuasive.'

a faint hope that enough copies might be sold to warrant the issue of a further volume ; but as this never came out we may infer that the former found few purchasers. As Jeremiah White said—' it has still been the lot of the divinest births and appearances of God in this lower world to be more solitary and neglected as to an outward pomp and attendance. They are reserved for the glory and triumph of another day.' So far Sterry's day seems not to have come. Yet the leaven of his spirit cannot have perished. It must have worked together with other elements of man's nobler mind ; and must have had its effect in bringing men to a keener sense of what is laid upon their conscience by the Christian law of love. Possibly in Sterry's humble soul this would have seemed a not insufficient reward of all his travail. But one who owes much to him cannot but wish him better known—especially by those who have not resigned the belief that the thoughts of a mystic may be vehicles of light from the inmost shrine of truth.

FRED. JAMES POWICKE.

A SPIRITUAL PILGRIMAGE

A Spiritual Pilgrimage. By R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A., Priest of St. Philip's Cathedral Church, Birmingham. (London : Williams & Norgate.)

'WONDROUS are the ways of God.' So simply and devoutly does the writer of this spiritual autobiography sum up the remarkable pilgrimage which led him from his father's Methodist home, through mystic dreams and Oxford studies, to the 'blue ribbon' of Nonconformity in the City Temple pulpit ; and thence, after many mental zigzags and much heart-searching, to the 're-ordination' which made him 'Priest of St. Philip's Cathedral Church, Birmingham.' To ascribe this whole tortuous path, with a child's simplicity, directly to God, will scarcely be as easy to those who read these pages, as to the genial mystic who has written them. His guileless and quite kindly desire is to show, equally to friend and foe, how after all his wanderings his true soul has but 'turned again home.' His *Pilgrim's Progress* will neither fascinate nor endure as Bunyan's has done, but like its author it has a distinct charm of its own. Sincerity and lucidity go hand in hand throughout the whole. However strongly one may be compelled to dissent from his conclusions and utterly refuse to follow his example, no question can be entertained as to the general truthfulness of his avowals, or, from his standpoint, the sacredness of his present attitude. He sets before us, with childlike openness of mind, a catena of facts, biographical, intellectual, spiritual, through which he has been drawn, more or less consciously, to take up strongly not a few anomalous positions in days gone by, and now no less decisively to forsake them for others in which, he now tells us, he is finally entrenched. Be it so. This country happily is not Germany, and the worst disfavour that can happen to him for his seeming self-contradictions, is that many of us will not only decline

to follow him, but, with equal plainness—and it is to be hoped with no less courtesy—will tell him why. To this end we will here first seek to apprehend and appreciate the facts which form the substance of his Apologia, and then to enunciate some calm reflections thereupon. In so far as the facts can be fairly summarized, they are as follows.

Under circumstances that were definitely romantic, he came from Oxford to the Old Union Church, Brighton, bringing with him as co-pastor a friend who was really a protégé. The present writer having been then resident in Brighton cannot forget the contrast at the ordination service between the thoughtful and reasoned utterance of the new pastor, and the conventional platitudes which were read from paper by his alleged assistant. All the preaching at all services was done by Mr. Campbell alone. And from the first moment he became a centre of attraction. The place soon proved too small, and a change to Queen Square was ere long effected. The indescribable charm of a unique personality, added to the force of a fresh and vigorous intellectuality in the pulpit, gave him triumphs in all directions. His welcome by the Free Churches and the booming of certain religious journals—which have long since for other reasons boycotted him—are too well known to need comment. In this his latest volume he has not only given a very interesting account of his early days, revealing without reserve the mystic temperament which built an altar in the wood and found God everywhere, but has offered to the religious world a fair explanation of all that has come to him since then. Canon Adderley, on the occasion of our friend's re-ordination, only voiced what all honest observers must own as to his work at the City Temple. 'To deny the work of the Holy Spirit in your former ministry would, for me at least, be to risk the commission of the unpardonable sin.'

But apart from, or even in the midst of, all the wonderful popularity which accompanied that ministry, the change that has come over his whole tone and attitude during the

last decade cannot have escaped any observant eye. In his book he supplies, with admirable frankness and lucidity, the clue to many recent deliverances which so differed from preceding words that, whilst some mourned and others rejoiced, all had to acknowledge that they required explaining. We have now the full explanation. Whether it be sufficient, may here for courtesy's sake be left undecided. Suffice it to remark that only careful students of what was formerly affirmed—and that with all emphasis—are aware of the degree of departure, not to say downright contradiction, which exists between the attitude of the former Protagonist of the New Theology and that of the present 'Priest of St. Philip's Cathedral Church.' Nothing like such a reversal has been known in the religious world since the days when, in the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, Cardinal Newman penned that humiliating paragraph of recantation; unless it be the contrast between the mellowed final faith of Prof. G. J. Romanes, and the unmitigated dogmatisms of his anti-theistic assurances from the standpoint of 'Physicus.'

It is small wonder that numbers of readers who lay no claim to be theologians, when they take in hand the popular edition of the *New Theology*—'thoroughly revised and with a new Preface'—are bewildered indeed at what they there find, as compared with what they now hear from the same preacher. He tells us in the volume before us, that in March, 1915, he 'decided to withdraw the book, and purchase the publishing rights to prevent its possible re-issue,' which is doubtless all he could do. But that withdrawal does not destroy the vast number of copies still in circulation. Nor does it mitigate the contrasts just mentioned; or indeed make sufficient his present explanations. Thus we find him now saying that 'It was much too hastily written, was crude and uncompromising in statement, polemical in spirit, and gave a totally wrong impression of the quality of the sermons delivered week by week from the City Temple pulpit' (p. 188). But unfortunately the latest

revised edition of that work (p. 12) definitely asserts that 'It is intended as a concise statement of the outlines of the teaching given from the City Temple pulpit. I think I am usually able to say what I mean, and in the following pages my object is to say what I mean in such a way that every one can understand.' They have understood; and the understanding has become the measure of their present bewilderment. How one and the same Christian teacher could then say and do those things, and now do and say these, remains a lesson in human nature even more than a problem in psychology. How in face of such an experience of some twenty years, he can now inform the world that he owes nothing intellectually or spiritually to 'Nonconformity,' and that to be in the true Church he finds it necessary to be re-ordained by an Anglican Bishop, is at best a temperamental phenomenon, and at worst a religious monstrosity.

However, as he here so genially sets forth his reason for the changes which confound us, it is only fair that we should do these all possible justice by earnest attention, whatever may be afterwards our inevitable estimate.

Limitations of space forbid our generally quoting *in extenso*; it must suffice to supply the pages of his book on which will be found the justification of any and every statement. Detailed scrutiny of his words is not meticulous carping, but just such appreciation of intelligent sincerity as every serious author must desire.

Two things stand out, then, before us; his reasons for so real a departure from the past; and the ideals which he now hopes to help accomplish in the future. In point of fact his reasons for recent developments are as follows, stated approximately in the order of thought.

(i) In Nonconformity, that which he had always 'missed' and yet needed was 'the altar.' Above all else, he desired 'to serve the altar'—'if I were to continue to be a preacher, let alone serve the altar'—'I have received

authority to serve the altar'—these phrases express his soul's longing (pp. 277, 298, 312).

(ii) The 'altar' stands for the 'Real Presence' in 'the Sacrament.' But the Presence is only real, when the Sacrament is validly administered. That can only be done by a priest, whose authority is guaranteed by his having been ordained by a bishop, who is himself truly in the Apostolical Succession (pp. 319, 320).

(iii) Whilst, therefore, Nonconformist 'orders' are valid as far as they go, they do not go far enough. For they only include the 'charismatic' gift, or 'prophetic' function. This is 'the only validity that has ever been asserted of Nonconformist orders' (pp. 313, 314).

(iv) But he desired to be a genuine 'priest'—in the sense which we shall presently see Bishop Lightfoot so definitely repudiates. For this purpose, therefore, he was re-ordained, in order to receive his 'commission anew from the hands of a Bishop of the One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church' (p. 308).

(v) This act and attitude mean that 'in the organization of religious life it is altogether a mistake to think that "the gospel"'—evidently of set purpose spelt with a small g, whilst a capital C adorns the word 'Church'—'and not the Church, is the first thing to be considered' (p. 302).

(vi) The 'gospel' can only be truly maintained by the Church.

(vii) The Church can only maintain the 'gospel' by insisting upon an 'unbroken continuity' from its earliest witnesses (p. 302).

(viii) That 'unbroken continuity' can only be secured through the 'historic episcopate.'

(ix) But the 'historic episcopate,' to be authoritative, must rest upon actual Apostolical Succession (pp. 305, 307, etc.).

(x) Whilst, therefore, the historicity of Jesus is to be and may be thoroughly maintained—as against the nebulous

or non-existent Jesus of the school of Drews, Kalthoff, Robertson, Anderson, &c. (pp. 204, 227-244—a useful summary), it must be understood that only the 'Catholic' tradition can truly present Him to mankind as the Saviour. 'Either Jesus was what the Catholic Church said He was, or He did not exist;' 'The Christ I was preaching was the Christ whom the sacramental system of the Catholic Church presented to mankind as liberal Protestantism neither did nor could' (pp. 250, 252, 253).

(xi) The Anglican Church embodies, as no other, all these principles of 'unbroken continuity,' with consequent sacramental validity and truthful representation.

(xii) Therefore, the Anglican Church is the only true full-orbed Church, and the one 'fold' into which all other Christian communities should be gathered. In giving us these reasons for his present position, Mr. Campbell earnestly cherishes a very definite hope for the future. That hope is the 'formal, outward unity' of Christendom. 'Sectarianism is deplorable.' For want of the outward unity, 'Protestantism is losing ground, and Catholicism is languishing' (pp. 289, 291, 304). Upon this he lays great stress, as a 'question of urgency, not mere expediency.'

But this union, it appears, is that of the lamb and the lion, who walked together as two, until the advantages of unity so suggested themselves to the lion that he came back alone—one—with the lamb inside. For we are categorically told that the only way in which the necessary unity can be accomplished, is by the absorption of the Free Churches into the Anglican. 'The first step towards a re-united Christendom, so far as our own country is concerned, is the gathering into the one ancient (Anglican) fold, of all the diverse elements which together constitute the religious life of England at the present time' (p. 289). There must be no mistake about this. 'There can be no reunion which would tend to weaken the firm belief of Catholics about the validity of orders, because they cannot run the risk of

compromising anything that would endanger the doctrine of the Real Presence. This for them is fundamental. They must safeguard the altar and all that the name implies. They must make sure that only a validly ordained priest should be allowed to consecrate the sacred elements. It is absolutely necessary that the historic episcopate should be accepted by all the non-episcopal bodies, or formal unity we cannot have' (pp. 320, 323, 325).

These, then, are the facts upon which he himself calls us to reflect. We will do so. The Bishop of Birmingham has specially desired Mr. Campbell to state that 'personal affection for yourself was a leading factor in my taking up your case so strongly.' It is a wonderful and withal mysterious gift that causes some individuals, and notably the writer of this book, to become a *persona grata* to almost everybody. All who know him personally feel, with the Bishop, the charm of his personality. But we are here thinking of truths, not of persons; of what is or is not Christian, whatever becomes of personalities. Consequently, we must waive off every gracious spell, and ask quite plainly two questions. Is all this special pleading true, or false, to New Testament principles? Is this conception of Christian unity either possible or desirable?

In so grave a matter repetition must be excused for the sake of unmistakableness. Seeing that we have no choice but to declare that every one of the following assumptions, or assertions, is false, it is the more necessary that we should recapitulate them. These, then, let us make quite sure, are the distinct items of ¹ his apologia for his present position, and for his beckoning us to follow him.

Full-orbed Christianity absolutely requires a priest 'to serve the altar.'

The Sacrament which embodies that priestly altar-service is 'the central element' of Christianity. But 'the

¹ Abundant warrant for them will be found on the pages specified, as also on others not mentioned.

Sacrament' cannot possibly be valid unless 'administered by a priest' who has been episcopally ordained by a bishop, who is himself in the true Apostolic Succession (p. 319).

Without such a priest 'to consecrate the sacred elements,' there can be no Real Presence. 'Consequently there can be no true Church (p. 315).

In the Anglican Church 'the historic episcopate' does actually rest upon a genuine Apostolic succession; consequently, the Anglican clergy are all of them truly consecrating priests (pp. 273, 289, 305, 332).

No other episcopacy will do. The American Methodist Episcopal Church, for instance, is not in the Apostolic Succession. So that its ministers are not truly ordained, and not being priests, they cannot validly 'administer' the Sacrament (pp. 321, 322).

Hence, a breach with history being 'always fatal' (p. 192), the Christian ministry in the Free Churches is but an imperfect function, whilst Anglicanism represents a Catholicism which is definitely more true to Christian principles (p. 253).

When the historicity of Jesus has been demonstrated and His supernaturalness confirmed, the Catholic—i.e. the Anglican—Church alone can present Him truly to mankind (pp. 250, 252).

Nonconformity stands for purely subjective 'individualism' (pp. 271, 274), which is un-Christian; and all the deep convictions upon which the Free Churches are founded are but 'little idiosyncrasies' (p. 328) which may easily be swallowed up in Anglicanism.

Protestantism in general, as distinct from Catholicism, is but an aggregation of 'incoherent and unstable views, not a life to be lived in corporate and immediate fellowship with another and higher world than that of our every-day perceptions' (p. 302).

Protestantism, indeed, is 'afraid of the Supernatural' (p. 251), and unwarrantably—with most disastrous influence

—divides life into the sacred and the secular, whilst Catholicism makes all life sacramental and corporate (p. 271).

Hence Protestantism in general is not as near to the truth and purpose of Christ as Catholicism, so that Catholicism becomes the Christian hope of the future.

Now we are prohibited by courtesy from truthfully describing this whole ecclesiastical fetish, or faithfully estimating the false assumptions in its monopoly of the great word 'Catholic.' Most of us thought that Mr. Powell had settled all this, half a century ago, for modern minds. It shall suffice here to affirm that it is all untrue. But when error so tremendous is urged by such a winsome personality, and supported by a popularity absolutely unique in these days, we are bound to consider his suggestions for the future equally with his inferences from the past.

Is, then, this ideal of an 'outward formal unity,' which he so definitely urges, either possible or desirable? Assuredly it is neither. And for these plain reasons.

(i) Manifestly it excludes from the 'one fold'—and so far un-Christianizes them—all members of the Society of Friends, and all workers in the Salvation Army, who observe no Sacraments. But here two things are incontrovertible. First: these Christian believers are every whit as sincere and as firm in their convictions as is the newly ordained 'priest of St. Philip's'; and they will certainly never fulfil the conditions of unity which he lays down. Secondly: when he affirms that 'the results in life and character of a belief in the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament have been and are so abundantly good and beautiful as to constitute in themselves a demonstration of its truth, and a justification of Catholic observance in regard to it' (p. 317), we cannot but tell him, as lovingly as plainly, that he himself knows perfectly well that amongst those whom his scheme thus banishes to the outer court, 'results in life and character' are as beautifully and as emphatically a demonstration and justification of their Christianness, as any-

thing that ecclesiasticism has produced through all the ages.

(ii) Moreover this same test, of his proposing, applies equally to Nonconformity as a whole, whether in the past or in the present. The subtle but no less real innuendo here that Sacramentalism necessarily and always produces a type of character superior to all others, is simply false. In blunt truth—which is sometimes necessary—there are quite as many and as real saints in Protestantism, as there are in ‘Catholicism.’

(iii) Whether Mr. Powell’s unanswered and unanswerable work is now known or not to ordinary Christians, it is time to say as firmly as courteously, that this whole assumption of ‘Apostolical Succession,’ with its sacerdotal corollaries, is as definitely and finally exploded for the modern mind, as its ‘results in life and character,’ illustrated in the Kikuyu proceedings, are obnoxious to the moral sense of the twentieth century.

(iv) Again, it must be said without flinching, that these reiterated assumptions and assertions as to the invalidity of ‘orders’ in the ministry of other Churches than the Anglican, are as false as they are pitiful. It is true that, taken as a whole, the ministry of the Free Churches is concerned about no other ‘orders’ than are implied in the threefold test of a definite call of God in the soul, the confirming judgement of the Church, and the actuality of spiritual results. But the footnote on p. 314 of this book also is entirely warranted, viz.: that ‘there are Nonconformist ministers who would strongly affirm that their orders are in all respects what Anglican orders are,’ though not exactly ‘for the same purposes.’ Let us put it unequivocally, thus: Judged by any fair test, history, the New Testament, personal character, spiritual effects, there is no one single respect in which the ‘orders’ of the Free Churches of this country—or any other—are not as valid, i.e. as true to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, and as spiritually

efficacious, as those of either the Anglican or the Roman Church.

All alleged superiority in regard to the 'orders' of either of these Communion, beyond these tests, is but the superstitious rehabilitation of magical efficacy, or tactual transmission of spiritual power, both of which are entirely contrary to the whole genius of Christianity. There is no 'sacramental grace' whatever associated with the orders of the Anglican clergy, which is not equally guaranteed by the principles of the whole New Testament, to every other duly accepted and appointed minister of all the Free Churches in these realms.

(v) This whole conception of the absolute necessity of formal outer unity in one organization, is but a crass unworkable delusion, born—if it can be said as kindly as truthfully—of childish bigotry, and equally unwarranted in nature and in the New Testament. Nature everywhere flatly contradicts it; and the references of Christ and the Apostles rule it completely out of thought. It is as undesirable as it is, happily, impossible.

(vi) It violates the most elementary principles of Christian ethics—'behave to your fellow men just as you would have them behave to you'¹—in urging the 'Catholic' to demand from others equally sane and sincere, that which he himself absolutely refuses to concede, viz.: the surrender of his most sacred convictions. These, for the 'Catholic,' involve a certain system of doctrine. For the Protestant they involve an entirely different system. But it is the Protestant, the Nonconformist, conviction which must be ever surrendered to the 'Catholic'—never *vice versa*! But, in Christ's name, why?

(vii) This ideal is directly contradictory to Christ's own assurance. Again and again Mr. Campbell urges us to 'remember what is at stake; it is nothing less than the bringing together into *one fold* all the scattered portions of

Luke vi. 31 (Weymouth).

Christ's flock.' From some preachers, who make a fetish of the old Version and ignore their Greek Testaments, one might expect this. But when educated men like Lord Halifax and our Oxford graduate talk thus, it is difficult to forgive them. Surely the Master's words are plain enough. 'And other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they will hear My voice, and they shall become *one flock* under one Shepherd.' Dare any man to-day try to make out that *ποίμνη* means 'fold'? What are we to say, in all charity, of the ecclesiastic, whether Roman or Anglican, who will venture not only to mis-translate *ποίμνη*, but to assume that 'the one fold' into which all other folds are to be driven, is his own peculiar fold? It makes one think in these dark days of a Germanism even in religion, which induces irresistible moral nausea.

(vii) So much the more is it necessary to point out that our friend, for all his sincerity, is thrice hoist with his own petard. For if anywhere the Apostolical Succession can be as actually demonstrated as it is resolutely claimed, it is in the Roman Communion. But the Romish authority says to Mr. Campbell precisely what he says to the American Methodist Episcopal Church—only more roughly. According to the judgement of Leo XIII.—which is unrepealed—the 'priest of St. Philip's' is no more truly in 'orders,' nor his sacramental consecration valid, than those of the humblest Primitive Methodist minister. It is more than a little pitiful to see a good man and a noble Christian teacher seeking to comfort his own soul and move his readers, by reminding them that 'Rome has not committed herself to an irrevocable declaration on this subject'! (p. 333). Surely in that case his book is premature. He ought to have waited until he and his friends had submitted to the same re-ordination by Rome, as they now demand from Non-conformists. We must be forgiven for reminding them that

¹ John x. 16. No sincere reader of the Greek Testament needs to have pointed out the vast difference between *αὐλή* and *ποίμνη*.

the demand will be even more inexorable from that quarter, than is theirs addressed to the Free Churches.

But that is far from all. The City Temple pastor has sought refuge in the Anglican Church, in order that he may be 'a priest' and 'serve the altar.' But as to the former, one of the most scholarly, saintly, and authoritative of Anglican bishops in that very Church, assures him that he has made a mistake, that he has no right whatever to print on his title-page—'priest of St. Philip's Cathedral Church.' Will Mr. Campbell deny the Apostolical Succession to Bishop Lightfoot? Will he venture to impeach such an authority for heresy? If he does, assuredly others will not. Let us hear, then, what this validly appointed Anglican Bishop says :—

'For communicating instruction and for preserving public order, for conducting religious worship and for dispensing social charities, it became necessary to appoint special officers. But the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people are never regarded as transferred or even delegated to these officers. They are called stewards, or messengers of God, servants or ministers of the Church, and the like; but the sacerdotal title is never once conferred upon them. The only priests designated as such in the New Testament are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood.'

After careful investigation into the rise of episcopacy, the learned Bishop proceeds to deal with

the origin and growth of a new principle which is nowhere enunciated in the New Testament, but which, notwithstanding, has worked its way into general recognition and seriously modified the character of later Christianity. The progress of the sacerdotal view of the ministry is one of the most striking and important phenomena in the history of the Church.

It has been pointed out already that the sacerdotal functions and privileges which alone are mentioned in the apostolic writings, pertain to all believers alike, and do not refer solely or specially to the ministerial office. An exclusive sacerdotalism, as the word is commonly understood, contradicts the general tenour of the Gospel.¹

Yet once more, since reference is so strongly made by Mr. Campbell to 'the altar' that he longed 'to serve.' In addition to the assurance of the Bishop just quoted, that there is

¹ See the whole excursus on *The Christian Ministry*, in Lightfoot's Commentary on the *Epistle to the Philippians*, pp. 179-267. The fifty years which have elapsed since it was written have only served to confirm its attitude.

in the true Christian Church no such altar as he postulated, we must not forget that this his deepest desire is utterly ignored, and thereby implicitly contradicted, in the very book to which as an Anglican clergyman he now stands pledged. The Prayer Book he is bound to use every time he 'consecrates the sacred elements,' knows nothing whatever about any 'altar.' The very word never occurs in the whole Communion service. The only approach to it is in the prayer, 'We do not presume to come to this Thy Table,' and in the rubric, 'When the Priest standing before the Table.' Whilst as to the word 'Priest,' that it is employed in what Lightfoot calls 'a wider and looser acceptance' than the sacerdotal, is put beyond doubt by the next rubric that follows, which says, 'Then shall *the Minister* first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in like manner.' So that 'the Minister' is some one other than the specified three. The defining of his functions may be left to other occasions. But it may be well, in passing, to point out for the benefit of some others, even in the Free Churches, that the same great ecclesiastic above quoted goes on to say that—

an emergency may arise when the spirit and not the letter must decide. The Christian ideal will then interpose and interpret our duty. The higher ordinances of the universal priesthood will overrule all special limitations. The layman will assume functions which are otherwise restricted to the ordained minister.'

Yet this is the deliberate verdict of one of the most highly esteemed and authoritative Bishops in the Church concerning which Mr. Campbell begs us to understand now, that 'Anglo-Catholics must make sure that only a validly ordained priesthood should be allowed to consecrate the sacred elements. To admit a counter principle would be to run the risk of profaning the most solemn of all mysteries' (p. 320).

In face of all this, and very much more which must be here omitted, what becomes of his plea for reunion? We can but reply, as calmly as firmly, no more and no less than

this—that it is as utterly impossible as it is emphatically undesirable. Its author may rest assured that the words which he puts into the mouth of ‘some stern and unbending evangelical Nonconformist,’ in regard to the assertion that ‘wherever the Episcopal ministry has been rejected the sacramental belief has failed’—express the true and deep convictions of millions who will no more part with them than he will with his altar—‘We do reject both, for the very good reason that we believe both to savour of superstition, and to be an unwarranted and harmful accretion to primitive Christian faith and practice.’

The real importance of this interesting but ineffective volume just now, arises from the trend in the same direction which is making itself manifest in some portions of the Free Churches. It is too pronounced and persistent, doubtless, to be dismissed with a few words at the close of this brief notice of an ecclesiastical pilgrimage. But one must be allowed to express a conviction for which the grounds may be postponed, that it is both a misguided and misleading tendency.

It is misguided, in that so long as the New Testament constitutes any court of appeal, there is no more warrant for the setting up of one section of the true Catholic Church, on the ground of ‘orders,’ or any other ground, as the ‘one fold’ into which all other of Christ’s sheep must be driven, than there is for a ‘sacramental’ system which makes the presence of Christ more ‘real’ at a special memorial service, than in any humble Christian home or any loving Christian heart. One cannot, indeed, but marvel greatly that the sincere and ingenuous author of this appeal does not see how he himself has given away his whole case beyond recall, when he openly acknowledges that ‘God is not confined to any channel of grace. In all ages He has chosen His own instruments to declare His word and inspired them for the purpose’ (p. 313). For the endeavour to limit such fitness of God’s ‘chosen instruments’ to a ‘prophetic function,’

and then set up antithetically another—priestly—rôle, is nothing more than a device of ecclesiasticism for which the New Testament affords, as Bishop Lightfoot so emphatically says, no warrant whatever.

And it is misleading, because a thousand signs of the times go to show that the hope of our troubled world in the dire crisis which is now upon us, and will presently become worse, is in a Christian reality which is as far beyond defining as it is above and beyond all Church systems, sacerdotal or non-sacerdotal. We know how, in the midst of the keenest controversy that vexed the primitive Church, Paul declared that 'in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is of any avail nor uncircumcision, but a new creation'; 'faith working within by love.'¹ So now, even more than then, what is needed is not the devotion of priests to altars, or the meticulous adhesion to creeds and standards, but what John Wesley right nobly called 'good and substantial religion—a humble, gentle love of God and man.' That which alone is an 'absolute necessity,' or 'quite fundamental' for genuine Christian unity, as distinct from ecclesiastical uniformity is the real presence of Christ in every thought, and word, and work; together with the never-failing remembrance in heart and soul of the two Great Commands upon which He laid such unmistakable stress. For only so—not by Anglican altar service, or Nonconformist liberty—will earth's hells in these dark days be transformed into heavens, and the assurance of the love of God, joined with the valid hope of blessed immortality, avail to end the sins and heal the sorrows of poor humanity.

FRANK BALLARD.

¹ Gal. v. 6; vi. 15.

Notes and Discussions

GOD IN HISTORY.

IS it possible to construct a religious philosophy of history? That is—without assuming that the Bible, or any other sacred book, contains a Divine revelation—by mere survey of the facts in the actual history of religions to trace out a significance, a plan, a purpose in the whole, and point to the triumphant culmination of a long, complex, and tangled story in the victory of Truth and the manifestation of God? If it be possible, it is an undeniably arduous task.

I found Him in the shining of the stars,
I marked Him in the flowering of His fields,
But in His ways with men I find Him not,

moaned King Arthur. There are, it is true, royal roads to the goal. On the one hand, the devout Christian points to the light shed on otherwise insoluble problems by the Book, which he reveres as the word of God, and which for him speaks finally on all these questions. On the other, a philosopher like Hegel may trace out in history, as in every department of thought and life, the working of all-victorious dialectic. He may point to the Absolute going out of itself, appearing in nature-worships, in religions of Light and Pain and Sorcery and Freedom, until God, having been incarnated in the processes of human history and religions, returns into Himself again. The self-confident philosopher defines in his own way the Idea which dominates the long history, interprets facts in the light of his own speculations, omitting or compressing or altering as may suit his purpose, and is highly successful—on paper. But to form a pure and complete induction from the facts of history and of Comparative Religion—themselves so subtle, so diverse, and as yet so imperfectly understood—and to base upon these a vindication of (say) Christianity as the final and absolute religion is quite another matter. That God writes His lessons in human history every devout soul believes. But to spell out even the mystic letters of that stupendous inscription needs rare knowledge and insight.

None the less the task is being attempted. Interpretations of the great world-riddle multiply. One which will interest many readers of this Review is to be found in a notable book recently published, *The Divine Aspect of History*. It is written by Mr. J. Rickards Mozley, and is published in two handsome volumes by the Cambridge University Press. Mr. Mozley is, we believe, a layman, but he inherits high theological and ecclesiastical traditions. He is a nephew on one side of the late Canon and Regius Professor J. B. Mozley, of Oxford fame, and on the other of John Henry and Francis

W. Newman, while his son, the Rev J. Kenneth Mozley, is making his mark in the world of Biblical and theological scholarship. Mr. Rickards Mozley in the dedication of his book claims that it 'gives reasons for the belief that a spiritual force issues from God, whereby life is made dominant over material forces, and souls in the flesh are linked with souls departed.' He believes that the Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed is a Spirit, though 'too mysterious to be called definitely a person.' In religion this Being is named God, and it is the object of this treatise to show by an appeal to history alone that 'the animating and controlling power of God is a necessity for mankind, and that in Christianity rightly understood lies the power to create those eternal relations of men with the Divine Being and with each other which will constitute a full solution of the problem of life.' He considers, however, that Christianity needs to be sifted and purified, that parts of the system are erroneous and will pass away, while certain permanent elements will survive.

It is a special part of the author's aim to show the unhistorical character of the Biblical miracles, and he sees that if these are given up, with them must go a considerable part of the religion. He believes, however, in the unique value of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, whom he holds to be not the Son of God in the sense of the Nicene Creed, but more than an ordinarily good man. Jesus is 'greater than his fellow-men, but not outside the range of comparison with them. He 'first received the Divine Spirit and Power in its fullness,' He is 'the revealer of the way into eternal life . . . the reconciler of God and man . . . and the first of the sons of men to feel intimately his true and filial relation to God, which relation he also taught us to believe as belonging to ourselves.' He did, however, confess his own sinfulness; he was in many respects ignorant and mistaken; and we, 'without arrogance or disloyalty to the greatest Teacher whom the world has seen or ever will see,' understand many things better than Jesus did, for 'we have nineteen centuries more experience than he had and it would be strange if mankind had not learned something new in those nineteen centuries.'

It will be seen that Mr. Mozley, like Eucken, answers the question Can we still be Christians? with an unhesitating 'Yes, we ought and must.' But, like Eucken, he claims that the term Christian must receive a new connotation. When we ask on what principles this reconstruction is to be attempted, the answer can hardly be called satisfactory. Mr. Mozley's method, as we have said, is historical, and he begins by examining the relation between man and the universe, as set forth by Herbert Spencer and others. Next he passes in review ancient religions, including those of Babylonia, Egypt, India, China, and Japan, and giving full consideration to the religions of ancient Greece and Rome. This is followed by a much longer account of the religious ideals and attainments of Israel, the nation in which is found 'the first seed of a perfect faith.' The Old Testa-

ment is declared to be subject to error in its ethics and in its miraculous history, but it contains much deep truth.

The New Testament is then examined, with the results above indicated as regards the person of Christ, who is represented as having been born in the ordinary way of human parents and as having risen again only 'in a supersensuous region,' as do all men who lay hold on eternal life. 'The resurrection is one that assimilates us to Jesus Christ, not one that differentiates us from him.' Jesus may be called the Christ in the sense of 'ruler of all mankind,' in virtue of his attractive power, not of his supreme authority. Mr. Mozley next surveys the history of the Christian Church in the light of the principles thus set forth. He is very hard on Athanasius, who perceived that the Christian doctrine of redemption was bound up with the issues of the Arian controversy. He has no sympathy with the orthodox creeds, and throughout his sketch of the history of the Church Mr. Mozley writes as an apostle not of the letter but of the spirit of Christianity. In a later chapter he describes 'the gathering forces of scepticism' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and concludes by a forecast of 'the hope of the future.' The degeneration of man, he holds, is even now being retrieved, and 'we have reason to anticipate a glorious future for the earth as a whole.'

Such is an inadequate account of a book that will be found full of interest and suggestion, even by those who least accept its conclusions. The outline scheme is so good and the filling up of the outline in parts is so well-informed that we could have wished it had not been necessary to point out deficiencies and drawbacks. We would not unduly press the point that Mr. Mozley is not an orthodox, but what is called a 'liberal' Christian. His attitude towards miracles may perhaps be partly accounted for by the fact that the formative period in his mental history lay in the sixties and seventies of last century, a period when rationalism and naturalism were far stronger than now, and when the relation between the natural and the supernatural was differently and more superficially viewed. But Mr. Mozley's strenuous attempt to exclude miracle strikes more deeply into the nature of the Christianity he advocates than at first sight appears. A 'non-miraculous' Christianity is almost a contradiction in terms. Mr. Mozley finds himself driven to admit mental and (apparently) moral error in the character of Jesus. His is a Christianity without the Cross, and therefore without the wisdom and power of God unto salvation which is bound up with the preaching of the Cross. And he finds, as Jowett, Martineau, and other noble-minded Theists have found, that the giving up of a 'supernatural' Christ makes him more or less uncertain about the doctrine of a personal God.

But the *Divine Aspect of History*, within its own prescribed limits, is full of instruction and suggestion. The author maintains a high and inspiring faith, and his long and able argument travels steadily to the conclusion that human experiences of religion have culminated in Christianity; that 'the human race in the person of Jesus of

Nazareth has arrived at contact with that Divine power which can sustain and deliver us, not from physical death, but through physical death'; that 'with the death of Jesus our earthly life for the first time struck root in the fields of eternity'; and that 'a permanent feeling of faith and hope and love belonged to him, whereby the Divine power flowed into him and through him for ever.' Mr. Mozley believes in Jesus as the Ideal Man, and in a 'purified' Christianity as the hope of the world. But, in order to establish on a firm foundation the somewhat ambitious argument from history which he sets forth, he would have been wise to undertake his examination into Biblical history upon recognized principles of criticism. As it is, the results are too personal and subjective. The writer's own judgement of probability and improbability is made practically final. The history of Old Testament religion, for example, must be based on carefully ascertained principles of historical evidence, and, in spite of a brief sketch towards the close of his book, Mr. Mozley would seem to be but slightly acquainted with the history and results of Old Testament criticism. His discussion of the historicity of the Gospels is much fuller, but even here his ultimate appeal is to the balance of what he himself considers 'probable.'

The description given of ancient religions is able and interesting. No man can be a first-hand authority in all the various fields covered by these volumes, but the best authorities have generally been consulted, and an instructive account is given of the chief pre-Christian faiths. What is lacking in order to establish an argument from the comparative study here undertaken is a fuller account of primitive religions and a systematic inquiry into the relations between those which are more fully described—especially between all others and Christianity. If it be urged, as it justly may, that no author can compass everything in so wide a field, the reply is that the links in question are essential to the strength of the main argument. Space might have been gained by less attention being devoted to a number of subordinate issues detailed at length in these thousand closely printed pages.

But it would be ungrateful to end upon a critical note. The value of the book lies in the help it affords towards a realization of the great theme—God in history. Men's minds have been busy with it for ages, and we shall wait long for a final word. Those who believe that God in Christ furnishes the only adequate solution of race-problems, have yet to study the bearings of Christian revelation upon actual events. 'No end to learning.' We should neither seek for, nor desire, an end as long as the Divine education of the race is being continued. But we should desire a more adequate understanding of the whole history of the past in 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' It will come as the young science of the Comparative Study of Religions advances and as a firmer hold is gained, not of the minimized Christianity advocated by Mr. Mozley, but of the full-orbed Christianity of the New Testament, realized as it only can be in these later days, by us upon whom 'the ends of the ages are come.'

It is a far cry from the Cambridge scholar and student of religions to the novelist, from Mr. Rickards Mozley to Mr. H. G. Wells. But, travelling by an altogether different and a terribly instructive path, Mr. Wells has reached a kindred goal. In his latest book he preaches from no sequestered academic pulpit, and his sermon will reach a large audience. 'Religion is the first thing and the last thing, and until a man has found God and been found by God, he begins at no beginning, he works to no end. . . . Our sons who have shown us God . . .' There are gaps and asterisks in Mr. Wells' sentences, intentionally placed and left there. There are crudities in his conceptions; but if the crudities be real and the maturities be only what Carlyle loved to call 'hearsay,' we may learn more from the raw material than from the finished product. Christianity—*pace* the author whom we have imperfectly introduced to our readers—means the Jesus of history who is also the Christ of Experience. His revelation of God was not merely taught in words, it was wrought out through Gethsemane and Calvary and the triumph over sin and death which followed in His Resurrection. The victory there gained for the race is being worked out *in* the race. But it is being won, ah! so slowly, amidst blood and tears. He who is the Way for every traveller, the Truth for every perplexed seeker, is both truth and way in virtue of His being the Life, which alone can vanquish sin and death. He who is worthy to take the book of human history and destiny and to open the seals thereof is He who was slain and who purchased to God with His blood men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation. 'The key to the riddle of the world is God, the key to the riddle of God is Christ.' But the complete opening of the locks of history by this master-key is not yet.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE THEOLOGY OF PROFESSOR GWATKIN

DEATH has recently removed from us one of our ablest scholars and most attractive theologians. Professor Gwatkin was highly esteemed by many generations of Cambridge students, by many also who knew him only through his works. A man of unusual mental force, breadth of culture, warmth of sympathy, singleness of devotion to truth and to the Person of his Redeemer, he has written nothing which one would like to overlook or to forget. His books are models of clearest and most forcible English thinking and writing. In our student days it was the man rather than the theology that impressed us, but in fact the two are hardly separable. We might almost say that the theology was the man; with such candour and lucidity did he express the faith that was in him.

It can hardly have been accidental that he chose as his first great theme the history of Arianism. It was indeed a work which needed to be done, and all the more after Newman's rendering of the story had gained some notoriety. It was also one which presented problems sufficiently stimulating to an ardent thinker. But the chief

attractiveness, I think, to Gwatkin was that the subject gathered round the Person of the Lord. The patience with which the facts were sifted, terms examined, details sometimes dry and trivial, sometimes unedifying and squalid, brought into proper perspective, was due not only to the conscientious care of the scholar but to the desire of the Christian to discover the truth on this most momentous of all controversies. No pains were deemed too great for a task of such importance.

The doctrine of the Person of Christ remained the central interest in Gwatkin's theology. For him it was par excellence the Christian doctrine. All other doctrines, even that of the Atonement, were inferences of the reason rather than additional revelations. They all flowed from the one living revelation of the Lord Himself. For the revelation was a Person, not a dogma, a living fact and not a mere assemblage of ideas. Christian truths are not separate items of information, they are rather impressions produced upon the soul by the glory of the Lord. They are received and known before they are precisely formulated. This was true of the history of doctrine within the Church. 'A full century of pondering was needed before a measure could be attempted of the stupendous facts connected with our Saviour's coming.' It is true also of the individual. The whole-hearted recognition of Christ as Redeemer and Lord makes all things new, brings the one and only revelation; but the unfolding of the contents of that revelation is a work of time, and comes about through the activity of the reason and the teachings of experience.

It is a little surprising, when we remember Gwatkin's sympathy with Reformation doctrine, that he should seem to prefer any other word to faith. 'Christian duty,' he tells us, 'is love to Christ and nothing more.' And that love works on knowledge, the knowledge of our Lord's Person, and leads to obedience. But is love the first and only response of the soul to Christ? Is not love in the New Testament and in Reformation doctrine grounded on faith, and on faith as much as if not more than knowledge? One does not quite understand the reason for this partial eclipse of 'faith.' It is there of course, sometimes nominally and expressly, always in truth and fact. But it has scarcely the prominence which is given it in the New Testament. Is 'personal devotion,' even though it may involve unlimited trust in the person loved, the exact equivalent of faith? And why should 'reason,' though broadened out to mean the verdict of the whole man, be preferred, as the means of revelation, to faith? Can it be because faith has popularly come to stand for much less than this awakening and response of the whole man, that Gwatkin so often uses other ways of expressing the soul's relation to Jesus Christ. If faith is a special faculty, a separate organ, a new sense unrelated to man's other endowments, we can understand the preference.

Devotion to the Person of the Lord, whether it be expressed as a reasonable service or as a faith which works by love, is, however, the

central thought in the writings of Dr. Gwatkin. It explains in part the much higher value he assigns to Greek as compared with Latin thought. The Greek was at least right in starting with the Person of the Lord. Rome on the other hand was utterly wrong when it made the doctrine of the Church to overshadow all the rest. So also its too exclusive concentration upon a doctrine of human nature often led the Roman Church astray. Starting from human nature as we find it, even though man was created in the image of God, it is not possible to deduce a satisfactory doctrine either of God or man. It is the Lord from heaven who reveals the nature alike of God and man. Anthropology is strictly subordinated to Christology. In another way also the Latin mode of thinking distorted the central truth of Christianity. The kind of devotion which Christ inspires cannot flourish in an atmosphere of legalism. The time has come to revert to the freer covenant God made with the Greeks. 'The twentieth century will have to go to school at Alexandria.'

To 'school' but not to 'slavery,' for reason is the response of the whole man, not simply of the intellect, and Greek Christianity always tended to be too intellectual. 'Even Athanasius speaks of Christ more as a theological person than as a man who lived among men.' Devotion to an ideal construction is not the same thing as devotion to a living Person. That simpler and more human kind of devotion came into the Church again with the reception of the Northern nations. This was a thought on which Dr. Gwatkin laid more stress in his lectures than in his books, and those who heard him lecture on the contrasts between Teutonic and Greek and Latin thought are likely to retain their recollections or their notes among their cherished possessions. With great clearness and comprehensiveness he was accustomed to illustrate the main features of these three types. The simple-hearted Teuton conceived of Christianity neither as a philosophy nor as law, but rather as loyalty to a chief, the devotion of heart and mind and will to Christ as Redeemer and Lord.

Calvinism, which spread widely among Teutonic peoples, was not able to free itself from all Latin influence. A protest against Rome, it was still largely Roman. For good and evil it was the inheritor of a past, as well as a movement towards a purer faith and life. Calvin had learnt much from Roman law and organization and these left their mark on the freer and more democratic spirit of the Reformed Church. But among the evil influences was the pessimistic strain from which Calvinism was unable to free itself. The pessimism of the Roman Church took the form of asceticism renunciation of earthly good, of domestic affections, and of social obligations. This was the pessimism of the weak, and Calvin was too strong a man to yield to it. But he succumbed to the same spirit in a nobler form—'God could not or would not save more than a remnant.'

Among the Teutonic Churches it was the Church of England that was specially dear to Gwatkin. That Church, though Calvinistic

in its Articles, allows its members to bring those Articles to the test of Scripture. This Gwatkin wished to do, and the result was not the acceptance of Calvinism, or of Arminianism, still less of an amalgam of the two, but a modification of Calvinism by an infusion of Greek thought. 'Calvinism,' he says 'is out of fashion in our time; and if we mix it up with Arminianism, as most of its enemies do, the compound is as diabolical as they say; but if we take it fairly, and therefore as a whole, it will be found rather one-sided than untrue. The difficulty is not in predestination, but in the doctrine of hell-fire that was commonly held with it, for the Bible is full of predestination to everything except perdition.'

The right of the individual to test the creeds of his Church by Scripture is a consequence of Professor Gwatkin's view of revelation. If revelation is the revelation of a living Person, it will be by means of direct personal contact, and the individual will be judge. All things will become sufficiently clear in the light of that life. No priest or Church therefore may come between the soul and Christ. No creed or dogma may be substituted for the personal fellowship of the soul with Christ. Whatever help a man may get from others, he has the witness in himself. 'Luther's justification by faith means that God calls us to know Him directly, not simply to hear of Him through the Church.'

On questions of Biblical criticism Professor Gwatkin occupied a much more conservative position than many. As a historian he was intensely interested in the reconstruction of the Hebrew story, but his sense of humour and his knowledge of men saved him from the extravagances of the wilder critics. It did not, for example, seem to him that the idolatry of a grandson of Moses was proof positive that the second commandment had not yet been given. Logical consistency is not a principle which will carry us very far in our study of human nature. Few men ever act consistently through a period of years, and the children build the sepulchres of those whom their fathers slew. Especially in the New Testament did his conservatism appear. He went little beyond the position of his teachers, Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. The more he studied the Scriptures, the more varied and deep the harmonies became. The words of eternal life were their own authentication. Instead of accusing the extreme conservative of obscurantism, he saw that such a person might really have grasped the larger half of the truth of revelation, viz. that it comes from God and is not the mere product of human learning.

The same insistence on the priority and importance of the Divine act meets us in the teaching on forgiveness. In his sermon on 'The Woman that was a Sinner' he pronounces categorically against the interpretation that the woman was forgiven because she loved much. She loved much because she was forgiven. Forgiveness 'is given once for all in Christ already.' It is the mistake of the natural man to suppose that anything can be done to earn it or achieve it. Christ has already achieved it. He brings it to us Him-

self. 'The scene on Golgotha is not an antiquated story. . . but a true atonement for our sins and the sins of the world.' But he will not try to frame a theory. The working of it 'we do not need to know.' 'It has not been revealed,' and 'perhaps we could not understand.' Those who have received the new life 'tell us with one voice that it flows from the Cross of Christ.' But how or why we do not know. And how it has affected God we do not know. One thing Professor Gwatkin will assert, 'An atonement for sin was not needed that He might be free to love us.' Anselm was wrong in supposing that God 'must have satisfaction before He can forgive.'

The doctrine of the Church, too, is dependent upon the one central fact of revelation, the revelation of the Lord to the soul of man. A merely outward union would be immoral and un-Christian. 'Be differences what they may, all those who are one with the spirit of the Lord are already gathered into one in Him.' But 'if we sacrifice truth to anything whatever, we are none of His.'

In his great work, *The Knowledge of God*, Professor Gwatkin evidently felt himself hampered by the terms of the Gifford Lectureship. He gives us the impression of one forced to take lower ground than he would like to do. He has got better proofs and truer sources of knowledge concerning God than he is quite free to use. But on that lower ground of a merely natural religion he has much to say both of interest and value. Amongst other things he brings out very clearly the limitations of natural theology. The world is complete only in Christ, and all discussions regarding Nature apart from Him may lead to false conclusions. What is true of the part may not be true of the whole. And even the part is always changing. 'The design of a system still evolving cannot be more than incompletely known to us.' Science may reveal within the sphere of Nature signs of the presence of an infinite and intelligent power, but even infinite power combined with infinite intelligence would not be the self of God. Nature does not speak so clearly regarding the moral character of that power. But 'she gives a balance in favour of right.' But when we place ourselves at the fully Christian standpoint, and add to the revelation in science and history the revelation of God in Christ, we are on surer ground.

It is, however, as a historian of the Christian Church that Professor Gwatkin has the greatest claim upon our admiration and gratitude. In that capacity he was not only in the foremost rank, but, in our own country at least, easily first. To him History was 'the most inspiring of all studies,' and he has done much to make it such for others. In some measure it may be said of his writings as of the ancient records of the history of Israel, 'Whatsoever was written was written for our learning . . . that we might have hope,' so permeated are they by the spirit of the gospel. The crucified and risen Saviour is the centre and explanation of the whole course of human history; and 'in these latter days we see how the long procession of the ages is gathering round the glorious figure of the Son of Man who is Lord of all.'

H. H. SCULLARD.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE U.S.A.

THE Presidential election in the United States of America on November 7 has made it clear that Dr. Wilson's failure to pursue a stronger line of action in regard to German contempt of American life and property was not due to weakness on his part. It may be admitted that the campaign was not fought on that issue; indeed, both the Democrats and Republicans avoided it as much as they could. The voters of the United States, however, had to pass on Dr. Wilson's record as President of the country during the most eventful period of the world's history, and since his negotiations with Germany over the submarine ruthlessness formed an essential part of his record, they could not, in the very nature of things, help expressing their opinion of such negotiations. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that 'peace and prosperity' formed the Democratic slogan throughout the campaign. Dr. Wilson's re-election by a small majority implies that more than half of the voters of the United States are satisfied with his administration, and wish him to continue to shape American policies as may seem best to him. Even if his opponent had scored against him by a small margin, the election would still have established the fact that the President had gauged the will of the people with great precision, and had given as full effect to it as circumstances permitted.

The election was swung in Dr. Wilson's favour by the 'West.' No one had anticipated such a result. On the contrary, the American politicians attached so little importance to the States west of the Mississippi River that the election of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes was announced on the strength of the returns from the Eastern States. The loyalty of the 'West' to the President is easily explained. The people residing there are mostly farmers and ranchers, unlike the people of the East, who are largely industrialized. Peasants and stock-breeders the world over are proverbially peacefully inclined. If they had their way, all the swords and guns would be turned into ploughshares. The 'West' naturally appreciated Dr. Wilson's ability to keep the United States out of the war. The food supplies drawn by the Allies from the Western States have made the people there prosperous, and, therefore, the Democratic campaign cry of 'peace and prosperity' had particular meaning for them.

Only in the middle of July last, Dr. Wilson appended his signature to a legislative measure designed to conduce to the welfare of the American farmers. This Act will save the agriculturists of the United States from being charged high rates of interest by rapacious usurers, and will enable them to obtain loans easily and cheaply from land-banks, twelve of which are to be established in various parts of the country. They are to have a minimum capital of £100,000, which the State guarantees, in case public subscriptions do not reach that amount—an unlikely possibility. The maximum rate of interest is fixed at 6 per cent. *per annum*. The term of loan may extend to forty years. To secure accommodation, ten or more

farmers must form a society and take up among themselves one-twentieth of the sum they wish to obtain. The bank is authorized to lend to a member of such a society up to 50 per cent. of the value of his farm, which is held as security. The measure has been hailed as a great constructive piece of legislation by farmers throughout the United States, and has been especially popular in the Western States.

A considerable portion of the vote polled in the 'West' was cast by women who, like the farmers, are peacefully inclined. Most of the States where women vote are situated in the Western portion of the United States. Suffragists claimed that 4,000,000 women would go to the polls on November 7. It is not yet definitely known how many of them actually did vote. 2,000,000 women had voted in 1912, and as some States of the Union have granted suffrage since then, it is easy to see that this number must have been exceeded in the last election. It is not to be supposed that all the women voted in favour of Dr. Wilson. On the contrary, the President was not able to placate the suffragists, who demanded a promise from him that he would make the enfranchisement of women throughout the United States a national issue, being compelled to adhere to the Democratic policy of leaving each State to decide questions of this sort for itself. It may be recalled that the 'Southern States' seceded from the Union in 1861 on account of what they regarded as the unwarrantable interference of the Federal authorities with their domestic affairs. Mr. Hughes, belonging, as he did, to the opposite school of thought, was able to secure the goodwill of many suffragists by stating that he favoured making the enfranchisement of women a national issue. This shrewd political move secured him many adherents who otherwise may have voted against him.

A large portion of the labour vote was captured by Dr. Wilson as the result of his espousal of the cause of railway workers. These men wanted an eight-hour work-day. The heads of the railway corporations would not hear of such a concession. A deadlock resulted, and a general suspension of railway traffic throughout the United States was threatened a few months ago. Dr. Wilson intervened. Legislation limiting the railway-workers' day to eight hours was drafted at his behest, rushed through Congress, and received his assent. The railway-corporations did not like the measure, and some of them have threatened to defy it. No serious trouble has, however, arisen so far. The railway men look upon the Act as a signal victory for them, and feel grateful to Dr. Wilson for securing its passage. The measure has favourably impressed most of the union workers, and influenced them in favour of the President.

Other causes had helped to make Dr. Wilson acceptable to the working man. Ever since the war started, work has been plentiful and wages high. In consequence skilled and unskilled labourers alike have benefited. The 'full dinner pail' cry—the Republicans' stock slogan to rally labour to their standard—could, therefore, not be successfully used to defeat the Democrats. Again, the American working man is staunchly opposed to war, and Dr.

Wilson's success in keeping the United States out of the conflict naturally appealed to him.

Another Republican campaign cry is the protection of American industries by high tariffs. It was raised at this election, as usual; but without much effect. The Democrats could ask, with every justification, when American industries were more prosperous than during Dr. Wilson's régime. They could, moreover, assert that the reform of the tariff under the President's leadership has not had the least adverse effect upon home manufactures, while it has saved the consumers from being exploited by monopolists. The argument advanced by the Republicans that the country would be flooded with cheap and nasty goods from Europe as soon as the war stopped, and that all Americans would suffer in consequence, did not prove very effective, because the Democrats had the shrewdness to introduce a Bill providing for a protective tariff on dye-stuffs, for a federal tariff commission, and for 'anti-dumping' legislation. This Democratic adroitness will result in raising the national revenue, which is to be used to help to pay the large sums that are to be spent to increase the size and efficiency of the American army and navy, so that the United States will be able to defend her interests against any aggressor. Additional money is also to be obtained from income and inheritance tax, and a tax imposed upon munitions, which will also go towards meeting the bill for 'preparedness.'

Few persons in this country understand how very extensive are the new military and naval programmes that the United States has formulated. The Bills recently passed provide for an additional expenditure of \$687,844,000 (£127,468,800).¹ This sum is to be divided between the various branches of the National defence services: Navy, \$815,000,000; Army, \$267,000,000; Army and Navy deficiency, \$27,558,000; Fortifications, \$25,748,000; Military Academy, \$2,288,000. Altogether 157 ships are to be built for the navy. Ten will be battleships, six battle-cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty torpedo-boat destroyers, nine fleet submarines, fifty-eight coast submarines, one submarine with Neff system of propulsion, three fuel-ships, two ammunition-ships, one hospital-ship; one repair-ship, one transport, two destroyer tenders, one fleet submarine tender, and two gunboats. They will cost altogether \$588,180,576. The construction of sixty-six vessels, including four dreadnoughts and four battle-cruisers, is to begin at once. Work must begin on the others by 1919. This three years' building programme, together with the other ships authorized during Dr. Wilson's administration, will cost the United States \$655,289,806. To realize the significance of the enormous expenditure that is to be incurred in a few years, on increasing the strength of the American navy, it is necessary to recall the fact that the United States is not at war, but at peace. Never before has she plunged so heavily into a campaign for 'preparedness.' A short time ago Dr. Wilson appointed a board of

¹ Assuming \$5 to be the equivalent of £1.

scientists, headed by Thomas A. Edison, to advise the navy department, and this body has aroused the enthusiasm of the entire country.

The Wilson administration passed a Bill last summer appropriating \$85,000,000 to aid the various States to build highways. Of this amount, \$10,000,000 is to be spent on road-making in the national parks and forests. The rest is to be divided among the States in proportion to their population, area, and mileage of rural free delivery and star routes, on their undertaking to spend from the State treasuries a sum equal to that granted from the Federal exchequer.

One of the soundest and most courageous measures passed by Congress under Dr. Wilson's influence is the Currency Reserve Act. The provisions of this law have given a stability to American finance that it never before possessed. The Act has made the recurrence of panics from which the United States suffered periodically in the past unlikely, if not impossible. It has stood the strain caused by the suddenness with which the world was plunged into war in August, 1914, and must be ranked high as a piece of constructive legislation.

In the short space that could be devoted to a survey of Dr. Wilson's record as President, and to the causes that have contributed to his re-election, it has been possible only to touch upon outstanding points. It must not be forgotten, however, that Dr. Wilson's personality has had a great deal to do with his success at the polls. His uprightness of character, his sincerity of purpose, his conscientious discharge of duties, his tireless patience, and his charm of manner all have helped towards his personal triumph.

CATHLEYNE SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

OUR PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS

THE utterances of General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien and of the Bishop of London have once more brought to the front a great evil and a great difficulty. The abnormal conditions of a great War have led to the necessity for a vast amount of public recreation, have given the possibility of much degradation in its quality, and, at the same time, have afforded the strongest argument for remonstrance against such degradation. Great masses of people gathered in huge cities need and ought to have relaxation and amusement; large populations bound in factory and workshop to occupations monotonous and exacting will naturally seek distraction in evening entertainments. The strenuous daily toil of military drill sends multitudes of our citizen-soldiers in the scant hours of leisure at the end of the day to well-deserved recreation; the modern conditions of actual warfare allow of temporary rest behind the fighting line, when it is important to keep up the spirits, and to provide the medicine of a hearty laugh. How is it to be secured that such amusements shall be really health-giving, and shall be kept free from the introduction of coarse and even noxious elements?

It is to be realized first of all that finally nothing but the existence of a high standard of taste can bring this about. The danger is in a vicious circle. Good taste alone can insist on the extrusion of the vulgar, the presence of the vulgar lowers taste, which thus has less power to promote the good. It has often been made a reproach to those who abjure the theatre and the music-hall that they ought themselves to attend these centres of amusement, which in their essence are not evil, and thus provide a sufficient body of those who will demand what is high-class. But while it is obvious that this method would keep up the quality of the plays acted and the songs sung, it is obvious also that the large majority of religious people are too busy to give to amusement sufficient time to provide this great body of high demand. Undoubtedly the general mass of public opinion would be in favour of wholesome dramatic or musical performances. But there are other forces to be reckoned with. First there is always, both in literature and art, the tendency to naturalistic interpretation of life, the resentment at what is termed the Puritanical view, the claim to freedom in the name of the sacredness of nature. There is the view that to impose restrictions drives evil underground and makes it more harmful, that open drains are better than leaking sewers. And there is the tendency to delight in the daring incursion towards the unclean or even frankly in the obscene. Purveyors of amusement will provide what draws the crowd and fills the coffer.

As a whole, the standard has been in England higher than in many of the Continental nations. The duty of municipal governing bodies to insist on decency in public entertainments has been freely acknowledged and secured by legislative enactment. None the less, when once the capital has been invested, it is exceedingly difficult to lead such governing bodies to feel sufficient public opinion behind them so as actually to close entertainments which venture over the line. The drawing of the line is difficult. The lesson of the reaction under Charles II from the rule of the Puritan Commonwealth is always before men's eyes.

Now a time of War unchains many passions beside those of anger and slaying. The passions are not kept in watertight compartments; the inflammation of one spreads to the others. The immense segregations of young men from the ordinary influences of home life inevitably multiply sex dangers in the time of rebound from hours of restraint. The horrible facts dealt with in the Commission on venereal disease are made public at a time when the necessity of great hospital camps for young soldiers is forced upon our startled and ashamed notice. The numbers concerned are a terror and a menace. Temptations and opportunities which are at all times sufficiently prominent become in these abnormal days much bolder and obtrusive. Along with the restrictions of freedom which military service brings about, there is by reaction a licence in other realms of life. The great majority of the soldiers who are now training or fighting for their country, conscious, as all young men

are, of temptation, are yet desirous of being protected from it. This plea is made by the best friends of youth. The distinguished General who has boldly declared the iniquity of the mingling, in the *olla podrida* of a soldiers' entertainment, of all manner of suggestive and unclean hints, subtle *double-entendre*, coarse jokes, is supported by the conscience and wishes of multitudes of the unwilling victims. It requires some courage to go into details, and yet without details cases cannot be established. The law of libel is, rightly enough, far-reaching, and it is unpleasant for men of authority and position to go to places where wrong is done, and to take public action to protest against the wrong. But it is to be remembered that not only do many of the victims desire protection, but that all the better-class 'artistes,' the men and women who by song or recitation or acting offer the amusement, earnestly desire the assistance and support of the pure-minded public. It has been understood that for some time past the theatres of the people, the music and variety halls of the big cities, have offered programmes which have been sentimental rather than lofty, but on the whole have been virtuous. During the last few years what is known as the *revue*, not necessarily harmful, has yet offered opportunities for a great deal of lewd suggestion and downright indecency. A certain section of the public is drawn by this type of thing, and there is a tendency for managers to turn a blind eye to the details of the songs and stories, provided the seats are well filled. It seems established that in certain cases women employed are paid so badly that it is almost impossible to live without further earnings. Imagine the effect of this in the atmosphere of the *revue*, where the audience comprises foul-minded men. Let us picture the condition of one dismissed somewhere on a tour because she does not please, and let us realize what sort of things do please. Here as everywhere else the question of sweating comes in as a serious factor, for in such conditions the standard is inevitably being lowered all the time, and sound and clean-minded entertainers are crowded out.

The bitter cry is constantly heard of parents whose soldier boys are subject to evil suggestion in the amusements of their weary hours, and are exposed to vile solicitations when they first go up to the great cities or come back on leave from the front. We cannot cloister virtue, but we, whose own sons have risen to the height of deliberate willingness to die for a noble cause, may well shudder at this welcome given by iniquity to their impetuous young blood. The whole moral tangle is too perplexing. Legislation by itself cannot succeed, but restriction and inspection are necessary. The one outcome that is clear is the unfailing lesson that there is need of unceasing vigilance. We cannot afford to do nothing, to assume the success of the preventive measures. Public bodies will not go ahead of public opinion; we must see that the strong opinion which is certainly general shall be vocal. In the nature of things most of us cannot know much about the matter. We are assured by some that even warnings given by licensing bodies are not followed

up, are mere opiates, and that the police do not enforce decency. Such as are convinced of this tend to despair. But here, as in every department dealing with human nature, despair is the one unpardonable sin. It is clear that all who have to deal with these matters are grateful for the help of the righteous indignation of those who have no axe to grind. A recent protest (against the renewal of a licence), publicly made on the ground of lewd suggestiveness, brought letters of thanks from all types of people—a Bishop to a 'star' artiste. We must be prepared, those of us who have known little of these things, to take trouble to get to know, and, though we shrink, when we know we must follow up the offenders. Great wisdom is needed, we cannot bend the bow too far, we must proceed only on clear cases. Notwithstanding the many forces of evil, the heart of the nation is sound; the protester may think he is solitary, but there are yet seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. Each is waiting for the other because he thinks he is alone. We must move the centre of gravity of taste by revealing the weight of the silent mass of moral cleanliness. W. T. A. BARBER.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

EVERY one is thinking of the problems of National Reconstruction which await us when peace comes back to the world. Six articles on the subject have just been reprinted from *The Times*, with a striking Introduction by Viscount Milner. The little book, *The Elements of Reconstruction*, published for a shilling by Messrs. Nisbet, is the work of two friends who discuss the complaint that there is no clear and systematic national plan or policy for the development of the Empire after the war, and came to the conclusion that the complaint is unfounded. They hold that a clear and simple course is before the country, though it is too often dealt with in a fragmentary way, and much obscured by personal and party questions. Their conclusions have been gathered up into half-a-dozen papers which attempt to outline a complete and consistent liberal and progressive policy in British affairs. One of the writers has for the last quarter of a century been interested in the movement for the development of science teaching and research. At a recent gathering in the rooms of the Linnean Society, 'witness after witness testified to the suffocation of science in British affairs, to waste, disastrous ignorance, and murderous indifference to knowledge in our administration, and to our planless future.' Sir Ray Lankester attributed this situation to the bias which the Civil Service Commissioners have in favour of the old classical education, but that is probably only one of the forces that blockade science. It is part of a much larger problem. Education and economic reconstruction cannot be dealt with apart.

The dye question may be taken as a typical case. That British discovery was exploited by Germany, who was able to set a large class of trained chemists to work upon it. She thus captured an

industry 'not merely worth twenty millions and more a year to her, but giving her, as we now discover, remarkable military and political advantages.' The apathy of the British manufacturer is sometimes said to be the reason for our failure in such matters. But the fact is that 'Britain has been a country of a great number of little hundred-thousand pound businesses, so to speak, with a tradition of mutual competition, with, indeed, competition preached as a gospel, and Germany has been a country of fewer and co-operating five-million businesses and combines.' It is no use to turn out chemists and investigators who must 'live on the wages of a boy clerk and experiment in an outhouse for the love of knowledge and their employer with three test tubes and a Bunsen burner.' We must have big businesses to employ such trained men. Chemical industry on an imperial scale could work on a far wider basis, and 'turn its vast profits far more directly to the enduring benefit of the community.' A nationalized industry could also deal generously with its servants. It 'can guarantee ease presently in return for energy now, and can formulate and realize big, thorough, efficient, economical, and racially beneficial schemes of education, training, selection, direction, and research.' The true way of reform is to remodel our scientific education and research in connexion with a systematic amalgamation and co-ordination of industries. The captains and organizers of industry must co-operate with the leaders of scientific research. 'The future of the Empire is now either one whole, one plan, or—failure and fragmentation.'

The nation's food, as we have been reminded by the appointment of a Food Controller, presents a problem of increasing gravity. Socialism has sat triumphantly on the grave of *laissez faire*, but its doctrine of expropriating owners is discredited. We have come round to the view that food production and other leading industrial questions must be under public administration, though we see that 'it is impossible to wrench these services suddenly from the hands that control them to-day.' The State need expropriate nobody, it need confiscate nothing, but it can 'insist upon certain standards of quality, wholesomeness, and cheapness, and on the other hand upon certain standards of cultivation.' The State Department of Agriculture would be able to indicate the best seeds, the best breeds, the best methods. It would have an eye to the welfare of the farm labourer, and would 'press the too individualistic farmer towards a co-operative use of machinery, of dairies, and such-like plant.'

Economic reconstruction on bigger and less individualistic lines is necessary to prevent labour troubles after the war. It will be nothing less than shameful on the part of those who rule us, and of those who control our industrial life, if they are unprepared to meet the men at the peace with something better than a resumption of the pitiful old struggles.' Both employers and workmen 'have to go to school together if the Empire is to be saved.' Much more can be got out of a man 'if he works intensely, continually, and hopefully for quite a few years than if he works hopelessly and unwillingly for all his

life.' Nationalized industry can give security, can guarantee a man's ultimate leisure and independence. It can also train the worker more efficiently. Such schemes would have to be fully understood by the New Labour, and its co-operation secured. Labour inspired and stimulated by our new sense of common needs would be in conference with capital on constructive projects. Then the Empire would move forward to new prosperity.

Problems of political adaptation are dealt with in a thought-provoking chapter. Party interests have blinded men to the dangers and opportunities of the Empire. The writers of these essays plead strongly for proportional representation with large constituencies and the single transferable vote. Parliament should represent interests, not localities. A scheme for re-organization is suggested by which the present British Parliament could be developed into an Imperial Parliament with over-seas representatives. The House of Lords would be converted into a House of Directors. The peers now sitting in or voting for representatives in the House of Lords would be strengthened by directors of great businesses, men of science, and others. These would be grouped in faculties dealing with science, commerce, education, &c. Each faculty would elect its quota of representatives to sit beside the Law Lords in the Upper House. The House of Commons would be composed of members directly representing national occupations, so that the real living interests of the country would be in direct touch with legislative and organizing power. Purely English, Scotch, or Irish matters would be relegated to subordinate assemblies.

Behind all reform of industry and of Parliament lies the 'organization of our at present aimless and confused national intelligence.' The national mind must be trained to grasp general ideas. Technical education will come naturally and in the way of business, but the liberal education of the citizen needs attention. There is a lack of coherent philosophy, depth and breadth of vision, sense of history, curiosity and animation in the minds of our people, particularly of our rulers. In a modern democratic community every one should have a certain amount of liberal education over and above their merely occupational training. 'Without a general liberal education we can have no massive national intelligence, no sense of a common purpose and adventure, no general willingness. Lacking this, the majority of homes in the community will be materialistic in the narrowest sense, unstimulating, and unproductive in the next generation of that sporadic ability upon which so much national progress has always depended and will always depend.' If the Empire is to remain united and make its full contribution to the rising destinies of man, 'happy-go-lucky and wait-and-see are at an end in mental as in material things.'

Lord Milner says in his Introduction that he has read the essays with steadily growing interest and sympathy. Certainly this little book will be a valuable aid to wide and broad discussion of the tremendous industrial problems that are before us.

JOHN TELFORD.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Forgiveness of Sins. A Study in the Apostles' Creed.

By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. (Macmillan & Co.
2s. 6d. net.)

DR. SWETE divides his study of the Forgiveness of Sins into three sections—in the Bible, in the history of the Church, and in the Experience of Life. The article is common to East and West. 'There is no article in the Creed which is more primitive or more universal; none which more deeply touches the life or more surely reflects the experience of all sincere Christians.' The Old Testament fully recognizes the universality of sin, the corruption of the whole race of man, but no canonical writer traces the heritage back to Adam. It is in the non-canonical writers that the tendency to attribute universal sinfulness to the Fall first makes its appearance. The Apocalypse of Baruch says, 'Though Adam first sinned, and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come . . . each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul.' As to forgiveness, no revelation is made in the Old Testament of the way in which the mercy of God in forgiving sins is made to consist with the justice which demands the punishment of the guilty. The range of the forgiving mercy of God is limited to the Covenant people. The story of Jonah's mission is the one exception. 'The displeasure of Jonah when Nineveh is spared is significant; the Israelite would have resented any effort of this kind.' The New Testament takes over the higher teaching of the Old as to sin and forgiveness, laying special stress on what we call repentance, 'which is fundamental in any real conversion of a sinner from the error of his way.' It adds a new condition: Believe the gospel. The history of the doctrine of forgiveness in the Church is discussed in four chapters. The Catholic Church has from the beginning realized the gravity of sin as a defiance of Almighty God and an offence against His holiness. She has also preached the necessity of the Divine forgiveness offered to us in Christ. The scholastic divines and Thomas Aquinas in particular reduced the floating mass of traditions and speculations in reference to penitence to a complete system. Henceforth it took an assured place among the Sacraments, and Sacramental penitence was accounted necessary to salvation. The scheme entailed confession, absolution, and purgatory, and was endorsed by the Council of Trent. The section which deals with experience

is very suggestive. Where the sense of personal sin does not exist, 'the experience of the Christian life has not begun; where it is deep and habitual, the foundations of life in fellowship with God are securely laid.' Dr. Swete says that 'to believe in the Atonement is necessary; to understand it fully is neither necessary nor, for a finite intelligence possible.' The forgiveness of sins through the sacrifice of the Cross and the intercession of the glorified Christ is attested by the experience of life. The subject of confession is carefully handled, and there is a beautiful chapter on 'The Life of the Forgiven.' Like everything Dr. Swete has written, this book will reward the closest study.

The Holy Trinity. A Study of the Self-Revelation of God.
By Louis G. Mylne, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Mylne left his tutorial work at Oxford to spend twenty-one years in India in charge of the unwieldy diocese of Bombay. After his return to England he hoped that he might have been able to prepare this book in two years, but it has taken nine. He begins by a consideration of the devotional and practical value of belief in the Holy Trinity, then he shows what that belief is not and what it is. The implication of the doctrine in the earliest preaching of the Apostles is considered, and three chapters set forth the New Testament doctrine of our Lord's person and Godhead. The divinity of Christ in the Creeds and in those aberrations leading up to the Arian heresy are discussed, and two chapters unfold the doctrine of the Spirit in the New Testament, and in the Creeds. The safeguards of the doctrine and some of its philosophical bearings bring the work to a close. It is a luminous study of the entire subject, which keeps close to the teaching of the New Testament, and shows how the doctrine enriches the whole conception of the character of God—'subsisting from eternity as very Love itself, not in a solitary Majesty of Power, unloving and unloved.' God is here represented 'in the tenderest of possible lights.'

The Adventure of Death. By Robert W. Mackenna, M.A., M.D. (John Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is an uplifting book despite its subject. Dr. Mackenna shows how 'the fear of death is thrown roughly to the wall' by any sudden and imperious call to risk life for some tender object of affection. He gives some notable instances how 'in the heat of battle, the fear of death is absolutely obliterated.' The medical and nursing professions yield still more plentiful illustrations of the way in which the call of duty overcomes the fear of death. 'A well-grounded, firmly established religious faith is the best possession for a man's last hours, and in the consuming flame of religious devotion which kindles so many illumined lives the fear of death is shrivelled up like a vagrant moth.' Dr. Mackenna is firmly convinced that when

men come to die 'in almost every case the fear is lost.' This position is supported by instances from history, the experience of those who have been in imminent danger of death, and the testimony of doctors and nurses. Sir Benjamin Brodie only knew two instances in which, 'in the act of dying, there were manifest indications of the fear of death.' It is probable that dying is painless. The laboured breathing or convulsive struggle very often betoken no suffering. Dr. Mackenna is strongly convinced that personality survives death. The facts of life cannot be adequately explained on a materialistic basis. His argument is novel and reassuring. Thousands 'who two years ago had but the most ill-defined ideas as to the survival of personality are to-day firmly convinced that life is continued beyond the barrier of death. Suffering has brought revelation, and the veil that separates them from the Beyond has become as transparent as a drop of dew.'

Plato and Christianity. Three Lectures. By William Temple.
(Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

These stimulating lectures deal with the general philosophy of Plato, his Ethics and Politics, and Plato and Christianity. The predominant characteristic of the ancient Greeks and their great gift to the world was 'Intellectual Passion.' Feeling and intellect were united with astonishing closeness. Mr. Temple brings out the teaching of Plato in various dialogues, and shows that the Idea of Good is at the crown of his whole system as represented in the *Republic*. Whether or not he regarded this as something personal when he wrote that masterpiece, later on his supreme principle is the purpose or thought of a living God. The second lecture shows that for Plato politics became entirely subordinate to ethics. 'The State is to be so fashioned that the influence of its organization may create in the souls of its individual citizens that habit and proportion which is profitable for eternity.' The three main divisions of the State correspond to those of the Soul. But Plato's Ideal State leaves us cold. To live in it would be dull and mechanical, for the emotions of pity and tenderness are regarded as weakness. Mr. Temple brings out a number of points in which Plato approaches or prepares for the Christian interpretation of life. His whole moral and political system has a background of human immortality. In the *Timæus* he comes very near to the Christian doctrine of creation. He fails, however, to appreciate the excellence of sacrifice. 'To ask a man to forfeit some self-culture for the sake of social service will be wrong, unless it can be claimed as payment of a debt; even then, while no injury, it is still from the individual's point of view regrettable.' Plato had much to do in forming the mind of Augustine and in bringing about the Renaissance, and his influence has been immensely great upon the modern world, though his system lacks the final touch which only Christianity could give.

The Valley of Decision. A Plea for Wholeness in Thought and Life. By E. A. Burroughs. (Longmans. 5s. net.)

Mr. Burroughs has won for himself a peculiar place in the literature of the time. He is always interesting, practical, and personal. Sincerity takes a new note and a true note, whenever he speaks. He finds a threadbare commonplace, as it appears, and transfigures it by his religious genius; while he shows us that the familiar, as we believed, is really unfamiliar, and the impossible is the possible. He searches the innermost recesses of the soul, with a psychological power as human as it is gentle. Do what we will, he declares, we can never do enough, and we can never do more than our duty. We can never mistake his words; he has an intimate message for troubled hearts, and his meaning is alike plain and uplifting. He has something of the poet about him, as well as the preacher, in his attitude towards our various problems. He is the poet of the spirit. To him the war is a tremendous adventure of faith and life, in which the weak are made strong, the ignorant wise, and the timid brave, in their respective reactions. We have before us the grandest of opportunities. We have been put to the proof, to the supreme ordeal, which tries equally the individual and the nation, and a nation and individual that have lost their souls, which God alone can give back when we have been tested to the uttermost. Too many of us regard the war as a great game, that satisfies our sporting instincts and gives free full scope for courage, alertness, ardour, and skill. Mr. Burroughs beholds it rather as a Holy War, the Armageddon of good and evil. He sees in it a fresh divine offer of mercy, probing character, and drawing out man's latent divineness—the angel from the stone. It is a book in ten thousand, and upholds the key to a true philosophy of life in the Cross of Christ, which explains everything and calls out for immediate decision. There are three parts, *Philosophies in Practice*, *Man's Extremity*, *God and Opportunity*, and *Via Crucis Via Pacis*. Mr. Burroughs asks us for nothing less than a whole and complete life, and a consecration of all our powers to the highest possible.

Church Divisions and Christianity. By W. L. Grane. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

Prebendary Grane dealt in his unpublished Hulsean Lecture for 1913 with the Unifying Power of the Christianity of Christ. He here shows how the Divisive Spirit is in full possession of Christendom—both Catholic and Reformed. The ideal of unity has been forsaken. In the Church of the First Age the quick sense of 'spiritual union with the One Head of every member baptized into the faith, while it remained vivid and clear, could not fail to unify.' Ignatius cries, 'The Spirit proclaimed and said—"Cherish union; shun divisions."' Prebendary Grane then describes 'Broken Christendom.' 'The blocked relations between the great Churches of East and West conspicuously show that the seamless robe of Christ has not been

rent by Protestant hands alone.' 'From the point of view of the Greek Church, as from that of any Reformed Communion, the whole fabric of Roman claims to superlative authority is destitute of all foundation.' The immobility of Rome is strikingly brought out. She discourages the very idea of re-union even as a subject for prayer. There is a great 'Anglican Opportunity.' No Anglican, says Prebendary Grane, can review 'the rise and growth of Nonconformity and acquit his own Church of all share in that sort of irrational inflexibility which he justly resents in the attitude of Rome.' The exclusion of Nonconformists from the Lord's Table is discussed and condemned. Episcopacy is held to be one of the Anglican's chief treasures, but that does not justify the theory 'that all other ministries are not irregular only, but invalid.' The whole subject is discussed with ripe learning and true catholicity. The book is full of suggestion, and its fine spirit will commend it to all circles and not least to Nonconformist readers.

Ecclesiastes; or, the Confessions of an Adventurous Soul. By Minos Devine, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is not a commentary, but the 'sympathetic study of an experience.' The Introduction deals with various theories as to the title and authorship. It is a soul's diary, the frank story of struggle with temperament and triumph over it. Mr. Devine fixes on certain phases of the book and shows how they correspond to our moods 'under a cloud,' and 'under the sun.' The treatment is novel, and each point is happily illustrated from poetry and biography. There is rich material for thought in this suggestive book.

The Composition and Date of Acts. By Charles Cutler Torrey. (Harvard University Press.)

Dr. Torrey, who is Professor of Semitic in Yale, has been working out the hypothesis of a Semitic source underlying the first half of Acts. It has commended itself to a few scholars, but no one seems to have attempted to point out specifically Aramaic locutions in Acts. Dr. Torrey says the language of the first fifteen chapters (i-xv. 35) of Acts is distinctly translation-Greek, but in the remaining chapters the idiom is not Semitic, and there is no evidence that we are dealing with a version. Some results of the method will show its value: ii. 47 would read 'added greatly to the saved'; iii. 16 'by faith in His name He hath made strong'; iv. 24, 'our father, Thy Servant, David'; v. 13, 'no one dared to contend with them'; viii. 10, 'the power of God which is called great'; xi. 27-30, 'all the land,' i.e., Palestine; xv. 7, 'God chose you, that the Gentiles might hear by my mouth.' The emphasis is on the mission of the elect Church, rather than on Peter and the incident of his initial effort. With xv. 36, the language changes completely. Dr. Torrey finds no reason, so far as language and style are concerned, for differentiating the account at Athens, or any part of it, from the context

in which it now stands. The discussion is one of great interest and importance.

The Christian Doctrine of Health. By the Author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

A handbook on the relation of bodily to spiritual and moral health from this gifted writer is sure of a welcome. She deals with Providence and Disease, the Nature of Health, the Nature and Function of Faith, and the Practice of God's Presence as the Source of Physical Life. It is a luminous and well-ordered study. She says many minds have reached a conviction that 'sickness is never God's will, but is part of that evil from which His Holy Spirit is always striving to deliver us.' The teaching of the Gospels 'strongly suggests that the only real hindrance to the fulfilment of the prayer for health is lack of faith in the soul that prays.' We are much interested, but far from convinced.

The Lord of all Good Life. A Study of the Greatness of Jesus and the Weakness of His Church. By Donald Hankey, Sergeant, Rifle Brigade. (Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is the first book written by one who has won an enviable place in literature as a 'Student in Arms.' It represents his deepest thoughts on Christ and His Church. Our Lord's life is sketched from His birth to His resurrection in a very suggestive way. Sometimes it is slightly too homely in phrase, but it gives a beautiful picture of the ministry. His description of the Church as the body of Christ, by which He makes Himself heard and felt and understood in the world, prepares the way for an examination of its success in accomplishing that purpose. He says 'speaking generally, it is the rich and the respectable that are found in Church and Chapel.' 'In English Protestantism we find just the same fault that Jesus found in the Pharisees of old.' Romanism does not appeal to him. 'The only good thing about the Roman mass is that, even under the cloak of superstition, it does bring home to the worshippers the presence of their Lord, which is more than can be said for sung matins at eleven.' The Free Church ideal does not please him. 'Unfortunately, the Free Churches have also failed to be Catholic, and perhaps more than any other Christian body have fallen into the pit of Pharisaism.' His views as to worship with provision for extempore prayer and simple gospel services are of great interest. All teaching should be directed to 'a horizon widened so as to include God, which will lead on to a new birth into a new life—the Christ life.'

The Soul of Prayer. By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Forsyth approaches the subject of prayer with becoming modesty. He 'fears to touch the Ark.' Yet he cannot refrain from his task.

He sees that 'the worst sin is prayerlessness.' The lapses of the saints were often the fruit and nemesis of slackness or neglect in prayer. The chief object of prayer is to bring us to God, and 'His patience is so long and kind that He is willing to begin with us when we are no further on than to use Him as a means of escape or relief.' Dr. Forsyth deals suggestively with the naturalness of prayer and its moral reactions. 'There is no such engine for the growth and command of the moral soul, single or social, as prayer.' Its timelessness and ceaselessness, its vicariousness and insistency are the other aspects of the subject discussed. The book is one that will give new purpose to prayer and will clear away many doubts and fears. It will certainly repay every one to study it with close attention.

The Prophets of Israel and their Message for To-day. By George W. Thorn. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.) Mr. Thorn shows in his first chapter that Hebrew prophecy is the most remarkable and profound movement the human spirit has ever known, and has proved one of the most influential factors in moulding the character and destiny of mankind. He gives careful studies of the books and their message. Micah is the prophet as Social reformer. All improvement, he testifies, must begin with the individual soul and its relation to God. It is a beautiful and illuminating little study. And the whole book is full of insight and timely teaching.—*The Enchanted Universe, and other Sermons.* By Frederick J. Shannon. (Revell. \$1 net.) Mr. Shannon's earlier volume, *The New Personality*, prepared us to expect much from his new collection of sermons, and we have not been disappointed. He works out his themes with discernment and sympathy with all that is beautiful and good. 'The One Touch more' based on the healing of the blind man, is very suggestive, and to discuss 'the Religion of Childhood' from the story of Samuel: 'Moreover his mother made him a little coat,' wins attention at once. The volume will be keenly appreciated by English preachers.—*The Church Year of Grace.* By Rev. Joseph Miller, D.D. (Elliot Stock. 3s. 6d. net.) This is the third volume of Dr. Miller's translations from modern Continental divines. It gives sermons for Ascension, Whit-Sunday, and Sundays after Trinity, which are simple in style and full of evangelical truth. Dr. Miller has made an excellent selection, and his translation seems to be very well done.—*The Divine in Human Life.* By E. W. Winstanley, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d. net.) These lectures on the doctrine of the Incarnation are very clear and well arranged. The chief titles applied by the primitive Christians to Jesus are used to show Him as Man, Messiah, Son, Lord, and God. The experience of Christ in the soul and in one's work closes the study. It is a suggestive and helpful discussion of a great subject, though some will hesitate to accept the statement that the Sacrament is the symbol and vehicle of the Divine indwelling in the faithful.—*Early Church Classics.* (S.P.C.K.) This is a very welcome series. Dr. Montgomery Hitchcock gives a translation of

the chief passages in *The Treatise of Irenæus of Lugdunum against the Heresies* in two volumes (2s. net each). A compact introduction gives some particulars of the Father's life, and of his great work against the heresies. At the Reformation students of every religious party turned to this treatise for arguments. It is one of the most important remains of the Early Church. The translation is clear, and there are some helpful notes. Another volume in the series is *The Life of St. Macrina*, by her brother Gregory of Nyssa, translated and edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke, B.D. (1s. net.) It now appears for the first time in English. Gregory visits Macrina in the monastery over which she presided, but found her dying. It is a touching story of a good woman's life and death.—*The Christian's Claim about Jesus of Nazareth*. By Clement F. Rogers, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 6d.) These lectures were given by Mr. Rogers to his students at King's College. They show that Christ was regarded as God Incarnate by St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John. His own claim is clearly set forth, and its credibility is shown in a very suggestive way.—*The Expository Times*, Vol. XXVII., edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net), is as varied and as instructive as ever. It is scholarly, but it is human, and a preacher will find in it a wealth of illustration and of exposition of which he can make excellent use. The 'Notes of Recent Exposition' are excellent, and the articles will appeal to all Bible students. The fine section—'Virginibus Puerisque'—is a happy sign of the times.—*One Hundred More Talks with Boys and Girls*. By John Wood, F.R.G.S. (Allenson. 2s. net.) These talks are crisp and practical. There is much variety in them, the incidents are well told and skilfully applied.

God's Minute (Vir Publishing Co. 2s. net) gives a brief prayer for each day of the year, written for this book by 365 clergymen and laymen. The idea is to furnish a prayer that will fill a minute of home worship. A passage of Scripture is placed at the top of the page. The prayers are full of thought and reverence. It is a little book of devotion which will be warmly welcomed.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Lincoln. By Lord Charnwood. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

THIS is 'the first considered attempt by an Englishman to give a picture of Lincoln, the great hero of America's struggle for the noblest cause.' The volume is the second in the *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*. We recently noticed the first volume, *Delane of the Times*. Lord Charnwood tells the story with keen sympathy and discernment. Tradition has never failed to give Lincoln, 'by just instinct, his rank with the greatest of our race.' Nobody else could have kept the North together in an enterprise so arduous, and for objects so confusedly related as the Union and freedom. He bore on his shoulders such a weight of care and pain as few others have borne. 'When it was over it seemed to the people that he had all along been thinking their real thoughts for them; but they knew that this was because he had fearlessly thought for himself. He had been able to save the nation, partly because he saw that unity was not to be sought by the way of base concession. He had been able to free the slaves, partly because he would not hasten to this object at the sacrifice of what he thought a larger purpose.' Lord Charnwood's chapter on 'The Growth of the American Nation' ought to be studied by every one who wishes to understand the leaders, parties, and tendencies of Lincoln's youth. Webster and Clay were regarded as the great men of their time. Webster devoted his noble oratorical gifts 'to the education of the people in a feeling for the nation and for its greatness.' Clay was the apostle of the 'American policy' which aimed at using the powers of the national Government for the development of the boundless resources of the country. Calhoun of South Carolina delighted in argument and in drawing elaborate deductions from principles which he was too proud to revise. Calhoun brought into prominence the idea that a discontented State might secede from the Union, and a wounded soldier bluntly asserted that his real monument was 'the desolated, ruined South.' Lincoln's boyhood gave little hope of his future eminence. His total school life was not twelve months, but he was set on self-improvement, and read and pondered over the books that came in his way. On one of his two long trips down the Mississippi he saw a slave auction, and is reported to have said to his companions: 'By God, boys, let's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard.' Lincoln's early career is described, and the critical days that followed his election as President. It was long before he found the General the North needed in Grant. The whole story shows what a debt the United States owes to Lincoln. When victory was actually in sight there were ominous signs that the

North was wearying of the struggle, and might have allowed the South to form a separate republic. Lincoln stood firm. He would not accept such a disastrous issue. Yet when victory was won he showed the most generous spirit to the vanquished. His own re-election seemed more than doubtful, but in the end he received 212 out of 233 votes in the Electoral College. Only three Northern States, one of which was his own, had gone against him. It is a great story, and Lord Charnwood tells it with rare knowledge and discrimination.

English Influence on the United States. By William Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A. (Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d. net.)

Archdeacon Cunningham's essays are based on addresses delivered in the United States in 1914. He hopes that they may 'do something to explain the Englishman to the American, and the American to the Englishman, and thus conduce to the mutual understanding which is the basis of a firm friendship.' The New England colonists carried with them experience of English tillage and habits of self-government. The Elizabethan township, in so far as it had freed itself from manorial control, and was charged with a great variety of duties, is practically identical with the township as it was planted in New England. New England towns do not show that a market-place was a salient feature in the beginning of their growth, whereas in England the market-place is prominent. Radiating streets are rarely seen in the Old World. The most magnificent example is in those which radiate from the Capitol at Washington. 'Wren had recognized the suitability of this plan for the purposes of civic life and it came to be an important element in his design for rebuilding London.' The chapter on the influence of our Universities on Harvard and Yale is of great interest, whilst those on Modern Social Problems and the responsibilities of national power and influence are illuminating. America still believes in the desirability of keeping clear from entanglements with other peoples and their affairs. She still preserves her insularity, whilst we have been led to widen our horizon. Archdeacon Cunningham says, 'Time will show whether Dr. Wilson has correctly gauged the temper of the American people, or whether they are ready to rise to the responsibility of using effectively the power they possess as a nation.'

The End of a Chapter. By Shane Leslie. (Constable & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Leslie wrote these pages whilst invalided in hospital, and dedicates them to the memory of friends who have died before the next chapter in history has begun, especially to that of his brother, whom he buried at Armentières in France between the guns of two armies.

He belongs to the Irish Leslies, and gives a delightful account of his grandfather, Sir John Leslie, who died last January. He was cousin to Wellington, though the only thing he could remember of him was that he was taken to visit him as a schoolboy and got no tip. He saw Talleyrand on the steps of Hertford House, when he was ambassador to St. James's, and listened to Sir Walter Scott in the Edinburgh coach explaining the antiquities of the district. Sir John remembered vividly a week's ride on the top of a coach from Glaslough to Harrow, without an overcoat. Mr. Shane Leslie was at Eton, and maintains that its head master has more to do with the soul of England than the Archbishop of Canterbury. He regards Dr. Warre as one of the greatest of its heads—'a Grecian and an oarsman, he epitomized English culture.' Two halves were spent in Arthur Benson's classes, who seemed puzzled and saddened by the boisterous boy life around him. Mr. Leslie makes some interesting comparisons between Oxford and Cambridge. 'Oxford's bead-roll is in religion. Cambridge cannot match Grosseteste, Wolsey, Wesley, Keble, Manning, and Newman.' He gives an amusing account of Walter Headlam, one of the dons of his own college at Cambridge, sitting knee deep in books, folios, and papers which lay scattered about his room. Rupert Brooke was like a Greek god, 'with long and not unhyacinthine locks.' Hugh Benson's career 'was that of an ecclesiastical Winston Churchill, with whom he offered a parallel even to the stutter in his speech.' There is much about Queen Victoria, Edward VII and George V, whose calm bearing, in contrast to the Kaiser's feverish omnipotence, is a steady guidance, if not a wild inspiration, to the Empire. 'George V has, by his unchanging calm and refusal to bow before fear or imagination, proved the fibre which resists the strain in the public mind. He may be his subjects' best figurehead sailing through the waters of Armageddon.' Of Winston Churchill, his cousin, Mr. Leslie has much to say. 'The secret of his soul is adventure.' . . . At Harrow he showed 'his typical courage by embracing his old nurse amid the mockery of the school. Under his fighting mask he always carried a generous heart. I think he was the only Minister of the Crown whose eyes filled with tears at the declaration of war.' At the Admiralty he found 'his codes stolen and his ships dogged by spies from sea to sea.' He realized what was coming, and he had just the time, though not all the support, necessary to put the Grand Fleet in order for the day.' The passage in the 'Epilogue' where the fleet slips past to its station in the North Sea is very impressive.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by experts. (Standard Edition, Vol. VIII. Charles H. Kelly.)

The first volume of this noble edition appeared in November, 1909, and every succeeding volume has deepened the sense of obligation

felt by students of the Evangelical Revival. Readers of this last volume will turn with eager interest to the lovely portrait of the Editor, and to the brief note on him and the work which crowned his life of service. His whole heart was in it, and the tributes to the edition which reached him from all quarters gave him the purest pleasure. The eighth volume is even more deeply interesting and valuable than its predecessors. It contains the last Journal from August 18, 1789, to October 24, 1790. This is now supplemented by the Diary, which helps us to trace Wesley hour by hour till the evening after he had preached his last sermon at Leatherhead. The world has never had this priceless record submitted to it before, and its value and interest are inexhaustible. Miss Ritchie's touching chronicle of the last days is appended, with fragments of Journals and diaries. Wesley's Sermon Register from January, 1747, to December, 1761, is an amazing record of his visits to all parts of the Kingdom. The Appendix, which fills ninety pages, is crowded with new matter, and the Index, covering more than 120 double-column pages, is the most exhaustive and scientific that was ever prepared for the Journal. Illustrations and facsimiles selected with great care add much to the attractiveness of the volume. We wish Mr. Curnock had lived to rejoice over the completion of a work which will always keep his memory green. The Methodist Publishing House has done itself lasting honour by this matchless edition of the chief classic of the Evangelical Revival.

'Twas't the Old and the New. By Rev. W. E. Bloss, A.K.C. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.)

This is a study of Cardinal Newman's life and times. In the early years of the nineteenth century the English Church had lost sight of its Divine Mission and had become secularized. It provided a rallying-ground for the conservative forces of the nation, and its clergy were suspicious of enthusiasm, and highly prized the advantages of State recognition. The Evangelical party came forward as the champion of individual religion. Mr. Bloss gives an interesting account of the Clapham Sect and the religious outlook of the time. He then sketches the early life of Newman and the formation of his religious opinions. The evangelical truths which he learned in childhood 'became the foundation of his whole theological system.' A full account is given of the Oxford Movement. Mr. Bloss will not admit that Roman Catholicism is the goal of the Tractarian teaching. There we cannot agree with him. The last section of the book deals with 'Newman's Career as a Roman Catholic.' His difficulties were largely due to the Ultramontane party, who undermined his influence and spoiled his work. It is a painful story. Mr. Bloss regards Newman as one of the greatest religious leaders of the past century, but he has no wish to follow his lead. 'There is no need for us to seek in an alien communion those unique privileges we already possess as members of the English Church.'

Letters of John Wesley. A Selection of important and new letters with Introductions and biographical Notes. By George Eayrs, F.R.Hist.S. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Eayrs has done a much-needed piece of work, and has done it with characteristic thoroughness. John Wesley's letters are by no means inferior to his Journal as revelations of the man and pictures of some quieter sides of his work, and this is the best edition of them that has yet appeared. Dr. Priestley published *Original Letters* by Wesley and his friends in 1791; and after the letters had been printed in Wesley's *Works* in octavo, a collection, drawn from the sixteenth volume, appeared at Dublin in 1816 and another in 1837. Mr. Eayrs has been allowed to prefix to his selection Mr. Birrell's fine sketch of Wesley and his times, and has supplied a short account of 'The Man John Wesley,' a brief chronology and a chapter on Wesley as a letter-writer. The selection begins with family letters, then we have chapters which group together letters concerning Methodists and Methodism, letters to Methodist preachers, to American and Canadian Methodists, to Ebenezer Blackwell, to his wife and lady friends, to Lady Maxwell, to young friends and letters 'on public matters to public men.' A striking phrase from each letter is used as a heading, and much information is given in the prefatory passages and notes. The list of letters arranged chronologically, with indication of the source from which they are drawn, is a valuable feature of the work, and there is an excellent index. About seventy of the letters Mr. Eayrs describes as new, but many of these have already appeared in print. The volume is neatly bound and well printed with wide margins. Its interest is inexhaustible.

Great Victorians: Memories and Personalities. By T. H. S. Escott. (T. F. Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Escott has had wonderful opportunities for meeting the great Victorians, and has skilfully supplemented his personal experiences by the help of such friends as the second Duke of Wellington, the Rev. G. R. Gleig, Chaplain-General, and many others. In his first pages he makes Henry of Exeter, the redoubtable Bishop Phillpotts, a really living figure. Landor wrote to a friend in the Exeter diocese: 'God preserve you from your Belial Bishop!' Mr. Escott heard Palmerston heckled at the hustings in Tiverton and visited him in Downing Street three months before he died. His ink-pot was on a table three or four yards away from his writing table, so that he took a little constitutional as often as he dipped his pen. He told his visitor: 'I believe in getting whatever exercise one can; and one can do a mile in one's room as well as in the street.' The chapter of Palmerstoniana is full of racy things. There is much also that one is glad to know about Wellington; and a charming meeting at Frant with the Great Eltchi, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. The pages given to Lord John Russell, Abraham Hayward,

and others are delightful, and so is the whole book. It makes the great Victorians live again.

Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick. By the Rev. C. H. Dick. With Illustrations by Hugh Thomson. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

The south-west of Scotland is little known to Englishmen, though Mr. S. R. Crockett, who was born at Duchrae and is buried in the same Balmashie parish, has written much about Galloway in Covenanting times. Rutherford's parish is in the province, and the wild coast was a noted haunt of smugglers. Mr. Dick takes us round the province, describing the fierce feuds of olden times, the famous men and women, and the wild moors and lochs. Helen Walker, the prototype of Jeanie Deans, belonged to the parish of Irongray, where her grave may still be seen with the inscription written by Sir Walter Scott. Rutherford's church at Anwoth is in one of the quietest nooks in Galloway. It is thickly covered with ivy and 'suggests a humility and a reticence that are in keeping with its finest associations.' There are some heart-rending stories of the Covenanters, and Mr. Dick gives many inscriptions from their graves. The charms of Dalry and New Galloway are described in a way that will make many long to visit them. It is one of the best books in a series to which we owe a great debt, and Mr. Thomson's pictures are delightful.

Writers of the Day: Henry James. By Rebecca West. *John Galsworthy.* By Sheila Kaye-Smith. (Nisbet & Co. 1s. 3d. each net.)

Miss West has written a most interesting little book on Henry James. She sketches the main facts of his life, and gives a picturesque account of his writings. In his earlier days 'his sentence was a straight young thing that could run where it liked, instead of a delicate creature swathed in relative clauses as an invalid in shawls.' *A Little Town in France* is 'one of the happiest and sunniest travel books in all literature.' In later days he would dictate a short draft of a novel, then take this and enlarge it by 'enlightening additions.' It is a bright and lively study of a man whom we have so much reason to admire. John Galsworthy's plays and stories are skilfully handled by Miss Kaye-Smith. He was born at Coombe, in Surrey, though he is really a Devonshire man. He has travelled widely, but has deliberately avoided the light of public curiosity. His plays depend on his characters and their actions to enforce his moral. He does not rely on dialogue as Bernard Shaw does, though he uses it sometimes in a masterly way. In his novels he does not develop a character. They are mostly plays in novel form, and suffer in consequence. 'He is the champion of the bottom dog, whether human or animal. He pleads passionately for sympathy with the abused and down-trodden and outcast.' He marshals words with a poet's strategy.

The Story of Buddhism. By K. J. Saunders. (Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

The increasing number of books on Buddhism shows the growing interest which this world-religion is creating both in Europe and America. Many popular writers are advocating Buddhism as the only religion which can regenerate the world. It is, therefore, necessary for a scholar like Mr. Saunders, who lived in intimate and sympathetic relationship with the Sinhalese and the Burmese Buddhists, to give his experience of the influence of Buddhism on the life and thought of the East. The Sinhalese have acknowledged their indebtedness to him for his admirable expositions of their national faith. This small book is written for those who want a clear, concise, and reliable account of this religion, which has exercised an enormous influence all over the East. It avoids technicalities as far as possible, and ignores the complex problems which are fully discussed, from many standpoints, in larger volumes. The book will doubtless be largely used by those who are beginning the study of this religion. In the first four chapters the author tells of the early struggles of Gautama in his passionate search for the light; his methods of spreading the truth; the beginning of Buddhism and its golden age under Asoka; and the influences which caused the terrible downfall of Buddhism in India. The chapters on Buddhism in Burma, Tibet, China, and Japan show the tremendous power it has on the religious and social life of the people. What Mr. Saunders says about the Buddhism of Ceylon is of great interest, for in many respects it agrees with the account written by those distinguished Wesleyan missionaries, Daniel Gogerly and R. Spence Hardy—whose classic works are strangely omitted by the author in the bibliography. In no country can we better estimate the moral and social value of Buddhism to a nation than in Ceylon. For more than 2,000 years it has been the national religion of one of the most highly gifted nations in the East. It has had, therefore, unparalleled opportunity to demonstrate its worth in a wonderful country. The writer describes truthfully the damaging effect this religion has had on the Sinhalese. The Christian section of the Sinhalese are more than justified in their impeachment of Buddhism, for they see how their race has degenerated under its influence. It is significant that the modern revival of Buddhism has been caused by Buddhists imitating every form of Christian activity, and by British, American, and German writers. There are probably half a million Buddhists in Germany. The author probably underestimates the vital forces of modern Buddhism. An impartial survey of what a large number of wealthy and intellectual young men have accomplished in education, literature, and in many other forms of aggressive work would deeply impress the Western mind. Their work is only beginning; the next few years will show whether they can unite the Sinhalese race on the basis of one common religion, or whether they are unconsciously preparing the way for the adoption of Christian ideals, which we believe can alone make the nation



one and progressive. The author on page 15 says that the 'Light of Asia' is based on a Sanscrit book of about the first century, A.D. Dr. J. W. Rhys Davids has recently stated that 'the final redaction, as we have it now, may belong to the fourth or even fifth century of our era' (*Buddhist Review*, No. 2, 1916). The author rejects the tradition which says that Asoka waded to the throne through the blood of his brothers. The great Sinhalese Chronicle, the *Mahamansa*, states that 'he (Asoka) when he had slain his ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers won the undivided sovereignty over all India.' On the Rock Inscriptions, erected during his life-time, Asoka says how he felt remorse for the sufferings he inflicted by his lust of conquest. The early Buddhists justly regarded the conversion of such a king as a notable victory for their religion. There is no evidence to show that they invented Asoka's murders and tyranny before he became a Buddhist. It is surely exceeding the bounds of reasonable criticism to reject all documentary evidence simply because one does not like to think that Asoka, before his conversion, adopted a cruel policy to gain a crown and to enlarge his empire. The book is well illustrated, and has a full index.

The Centennial History of the American Bible Society. By Henry Otis Dwight. 2 vols. (The Macmillan Company. 8s. 6d. net.)

In December, 1808, the first American Bible Society was formed in Philadelphia. Some thought that it ought to serve the whole country, but its founders felt that this would make it unwieldy. They favoured the formation of local Societies, and within six years more than a hundred of these had been organized to supply Bibles to the poor. Almost every one of them, however, made provision in its constitution for extending its benefactions when possible to heathen lands. Our own Bible Society gave grants of £3,122 to these American Societies, and was frequently addressed by them as 'Venerable Parent.' In 1814 the Hon. Elias Boudinot made proposals for the formation of one Society for the United States, and this was accomplished in 1816. The local Bible Societies became its auxiliaries, and new branches were formed in many places. At the end of the fifth year there were 301 auxiliaries, which had paid \$39,600 for books. 140,000 volumes of Scriptures had been issued, and \$216,000 received. The population was growing rapidly, and at first the Society had no Bibles. But it gradually provided itself with stereotype plates and was able to supply the local auxiliaries. Then it printed a translation of the Epistles of St. John for the Delaware Indians, and began to send Spanish Testaments for distribution in Latin America. Mr. Dwight describes the early difficulties of the Society, and some of the great men who helped to surmount them. About 1833 missionary enthusiasm led the Society to resolve to supply the whole world with Bibles 'in the shortest possible time.' Dr. Janes, afterwards Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, proved a very efficient Financial Secretary, and great progress was

made. In the first twenty-five years the receipts were \$1,814,705, almost half of which came from sale of books. In 1854 the spacious Bible House in Astor Place, New York, was erected at a cost of \$303,000. Full particulars are given of the Society's work in various mission fields during its century of service. It has circulated 23,456,549 Bibles, 86,469,665 Testaments, etc., and has promoted the translation, printing, or distribution of 164 versions. Its total receipts have reached \$38,014,919. Mr. Dwight's volumes are intended to be read by the people, and they are full of incidents of the work which show how greatly it has been used of God for the salvation of the world. The volumes have some good illustrations, and are brightly written.

Forty-five Years in China. Reminiscences. By Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D. (T. F. Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Timothy Richard holds a unique position in China, won by nearly half a century of enlightened and unwearying service for the uplifting of a quarter of the population of the globe. The problem which faced him when he began his work in 1869 was not merely how to save the souls of the Chinese, but how to preserve them 'from perishing at the rate of four millions per annum, and to free their minds, more crippled than the feet of their women, from a philosophy and custom which had lasted for many centuries and left them at the mercy of any nation which might attack their country.' He landed at Shanghai in February, 1870. His early experiences at Chefoo and his tours of inspection in the interior are full of interesting incidents. In 1875 he moved to Ching-Chow-fu, where he adopted native dress and lived on Chinese food bought from street vendors or taken in a restaurant. During the famine in Shantung in 1876 he was urged to head a rebellion against the Government, but interviewed the Governor and made suggestions about importing grain from Korea and Japan as well as from Manchuria. He busied himself in relieving distress, and adopted Chinese methods of propagating Christianity so that it might commend itself to the conscience of the Chinese as superior to anything they themselves possessed. When a more serious famine broke out in Shansi in 1877 he was asked to go and distribute relief there. It seemed 'a direct leading of God to open up the interior of China.' There he had David Hill as one of his colleagues in relief work, and made a very happy marriage with Miss Martin, of the United Presbyterian Mission, who rendered inestimable service as writer and educator. The chapters on work among officials and scholars show how prejudices were overcome and reforms introduced. After five years of trial and suspense Dr. Richard took charge of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge in 1891. From that time he has been closely identified with the history of Chinese reform. He had many interviews with Li Hung-chang, whom he regards as the greatest Chinese official that he ever met. Sun-yat-Sen destroyed his influence by his protest against the foreign loan which Yuan Shih-kai borrowed to promote army reform. The book is one of the deepest interest and significance.

The Students of Asia. By G. Sherwood Eddy, M.A. (Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book is issued jointly by the R.T.S. and the Y.M.C.A. Mr. Eddy is the foreign secretary to the American National Council of Y.M.C.A. Associations in the West, and his travels in the East enable him to furnish some wonderful facts as to the awakening of Asia. 'The new education is bringing a new uplift to the nations, and is beginning to affect not only the intellectual, but also the physical, economic, political, social, moral, and religious life.' The West has to decide whether this awakening shall be material or spiritual. Ninety-eight per cent. of Japanese children are taking the minimum course of six years at school. China has about a million and a half pupils in its modern educational system. In India one child in every six of school-going age is at school.

In Memoriam W. H. S. Aubrey, LL.D. (Elliot Stock. 2s. 6d. net.)

Some lectures and extracts from Dr. Aubrey's writings have been edited by his daughter, among them being an article which he wrote for this REVIEW. His tastes are shown by the varied contents of the book. 'A Saunter in the Byways of Literature' brings pleasantly together many facts about books and their writers. 'Practical Hints on Study and Self-Formation' are full of wisdom. There is a good paper on Daniel Defoe, a happy little account of a visit to Mr. Gladstone, some memories of travel in America, a Brotherhood address, and other papers. 'The Survival of the Unfit' is of special interest because of the writer's devotion to poor-law work. The portrait prefixed to the little volume shows what a gracious man Dr. Aubrey was, 'Little children and dumb animals, with unerring instinct, always came to him.'

Napoleon: The Last Phase. By Lord Rosebery. (Nelson & Sons. 1s. 3d. net.) This study of Napoleon's life at St. Helena charmed every one when it first appeared. A new generation will greatly appreciate this neat and well-printed edition. The book was written to lay a literary ghost, for the subject had laid hold on Lord Rosebery, and he found it a welcome task for his leisure hours. This is a charming reprint.—*Dick Metcalfe.* (Kelly. 6d.) A little sketch of a working man who won hundreds of men and women from evil lives. He was full of cheerfulness and good temper and his zeal for the salvation of souls was intense.—*Prince Joseph Poniatowski.* (Allen & Unwin. 6d. net.) This is an eloquent tribute to the great Polish patriot, delivered by Prof. Askenazy, on the hundredth anniversary of his death on the field of Leipzig. It is a pathetic sketch. We are glad to see that it is the first in a series dealing with various aspects of Polish national life.—*Tommy and His Friend,* by Richard Whiteing (Kelly. 6d. net), is a dainty booklet about Madame Strathearn and her splendid work in Y.M.C.A. huts.

BOOKS ON THE WAR

France To-Day. By Laurence Jerrold. (Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

MR. JERROLD knows France as few Englishmen can pretend to do. He was educated at the University of Paris, married a French lady, and is chief Paris correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*. He deals with almost every side of French life, with warm appreciation of the fine character of our Allies. He will not allow that the War has made a new France. Any one who knew the country knew that 'when the great crux came Anti-militarists and jingoes would stand together and priests with Anarchists, that every Frenchman would fight to a finish for his homestead, and the French mind die rather than be downed.' Its youth have died by hundreds of thousands for their country. It is the old, old France. Mr. Jerrold begins with France at bay. When the order of mobilization appeared, France was her real self again, 'One nation with one heart, the most one-hearted, deeply-united nation in the world. . . . She was one huge battalion of soldiers fighting on fields, in trenches, in forts; peasants, dukes, millionaires, politicians, priests, bishops, anarchists, all of but one mind.' A vivid picture is given of the first stages of the war up to the battle of the Marne and the repulse of the attempt on Calais. France blundered badly in those days, but so also did Germany. Frenchmen fought against German arrogance, against such 'an obtuse, untutored, comic megalomania as the world has never in an organized nation seen before.' The French army is probably the most democratic institution in the world. 'Troopers come up from the east to Paris together on leave, one is met at the station by footman and chauffeur with the car, the other by his mother in her workaday black dress without a hat; that makes no shadow of difference between regimental pals.' The German officer bullies the private. In the whole war not a single example of human devotion from a German private to his officer has been recorded. The French soldier is ready to die for his friend, his officer. A lieutenant was carried to hospital slightly wounded, and spent all his time in caring for a severely wounded trooper. 'Your brother?' asked the chief surgeon. 'No, my orderly servant.' Mr. Jerrold cannot speak too warmly of the French woman and the care for the family which is the chief delight of husband and wife. No mother in the world is more devoted. She is always a mother first, and would cheerfully sacrifice her husband for her children's sake, and herself also, of course. The Frenchman wants a human religion, one that makes allowances and permits compromises. He calls a religion sincere that says the flesh is weak. The irreligious peasant is rare. There is much about the French peasantry and the cities, about

the literature of France and its youths, some of whom in the intervals of throwing hand grenades in the trenches discuss letters and art and metaphysics.

The Soul of the Russian. By Marjorie and Alan Lethbridge. (Lane. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. and Mrs. Lethbridge know Russia intimately, and have set themselves to whet the appetite of English readers to learn more about our mighty ally. The twenty-eight papers cover a wide range. Bits of history are interwoven with descriptions of life in Kieff, and accounts of the little picnics given by Russians to new arrivals. 'Faith' has made the Russian soldier what he is. To him the war is holy, and he has entire confidence in victory. When mobilization began over the bridge at Omsk marched endless streams of men clad in tattered coats, in old sheepskins and alpaca jackets, with high boots and baggy trousers. They were smiling and joking as they marched. More than 30,000 soldiers passed in and out every day. Mr. Lethbridge met General Ivanoff, a tall man, with a slight stoop and a bushy grey beard. He had great breadth of sympathy, vast tact, and well-balanced control over subordinates. The charm of the steppe made a deep impression on the English travellers. Spring is wonderful in Siberia. The snow vanishes and the whole world bursts into flower. The steppe becomes a garden. 'There are tangled masses of wild roses, the yellowest of marshmallows, forget-me-nots, foxgloves, huge maroon-coloured thistles, sedate ox-eyes and bluebells in clusters which stain the steppe a darker hue than the sky above.' Mrs. Lethbridge gives an amusing account of her household at Kieff, and the whole book is bright and readable. Russia is longing to escape from German tutelage, and to develop her Slav character. Siberia also is profiting greatly by the settlement of thousands of prisoners who have brought industrial life into the country and promise to settle there after the war.

Impressions and Experiences of a French Trooper, 1914-1915. By Christian Mallet. (Constable & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

These are vivid pictures of the first ten months of the War. M. Mallet was at Rheims with his regiment, the 22nd Dragoons, when war broke out, and he describes the excitement of the march across the borders of Belgium and the life on active service. His notes were jotted down as he sat on horseback during a halt. They describe the strain of marching, the lack of food and sleep, and the horrible sights of German barbarism in gentlemen's houses. The charge of Gilcourt and the escape of the dragoons in the forest of Compiègne in September, 1914, are dramatic pictures. Verberie was the centre of the rally after the battle which forced the Germans to retreat. There they found a peasant girl of fifteen who had stayed to look after her paralysed grandfather, and had borne the abuse and coarse treatment of the Bavarian soldiers like a heroine.

The People Who Run. By Violetta Thurston. (Putnam's Sons. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Russian name for refugees is Béjentze, the people who run. Five and a half million of these dazed and terrified creatures fled from their homes in the summer and winter of 1915 before the great German advance into Russia. Miss Thurston has visited the barracks in which these unfortunates are housed all over Russia, and tells some tragic stories of the death of little children from starvation. Villages lie in blackened ruins, churches have been destroyed and desecrated, men and women have lost their reason. The students of Kazan formed a colony for refugees on the banks of the Volga, where they were provided with work according to their capacity, and received pay with which they could buy little comforts. The chapter on Jewish refugees is of special interest.

A Diary of the Great War. By Samuel Pepys, Jun. (John Lane. 5s. net.)

We live the first two years of the War over again in this vivacious diary. It has much quaint humour and not a little satire on retired veterans, who think they could manage affairs by sea and land better than the men in power. Samuel Pepys, Jun., is as true to himself and as careful of his own interests as the old diarist. He has no objection to save on his maid's diet and his wife's wardrobe, but he generally manages to take care of himself, and it is amusing to see how things bend to that end. The rumours of the Russian army coming to our relief in France appear again and again, but Mr. Pepys has small luck with Zeppelins. He is in Yorkshire when they come to London, and manages to miss a sight of the 'Ayr-ship' on the next visit. He told his wife that he hoped for better luck next time. 'To which the wretch answering me not to be a fool.' All the gossip of the time seems concentrated into the diary, and it is so seasoned with personal items and, above all, with Mr. Pepys' personality, that it is rich in food for laughter. The illustrations have caught the spirit of the record splendidly, and to read the book is a real relief amid the anxieties of war-time. We can for a while forget our woes and be merry over the foibles of ourselves and our neighbours.

Gallipoli. By John Masefield. (Heinemann. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Masefield spent some months at the Dardanelles as a member of the Red Cross organization. That gave him exceptional opportunity for following the whole campaign and he has served the cause of the Allies well by the use he has made of them. He describes the whole story from the first landing to the final withdrawal of our troops in a way that stirs one's very blood. Heroism never rose higher than among our troops in that tragic expedition. 'That

the effort failed is not against it; much that is most splendid in military history failed, many great things and noble men have failed.' Mr. Masfield ranks it as 'the second grand event of the war; the first was Belgium's answer to the German ultimatum.' A clear description of the Peninsula forms a background for a detailed account of the landing on April 25, 1915. It sets the whole scene before our eyes and brings out the dauntless courage of the Australian and the New Zealand troops. After we had won our footing on the peninsula there were three weeks of quieter operations, which advanced and strengthened our line till the second great attack of June 4 was made. We had no high explosive shell, and not enough shrapnel. Yet the line on the left was pushed forward a thousand yards. Then we were brought to a stand without power to strike while the iron was hot. The Turks meanwhile secured strong reinforcements, and strengthened their positions. The battle of August 6-10 was 'perhaps the strangest and most difficult battle ever fought by mortal General.' Had the troops from Suvla been sent forward earlier the whole expedition would have been a triumph. Mr. Masfield has told the story with dramatic intensity and overflowing sympathy. He makes us feel that if the expedition was a failure it was one that gives us a new conception of the heroic temper of our men. The little book has good maps and many valuable illustrations.

Nelson's History of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XIV. (Nelson & Sons. 1s. 3d. net.)

This volume begins with the Fall of Kut. The surrender brought no stigma on the brave garrison, but it showed the unsoundness of the advance on Baghdad from which all our troubles had flowed, and the utterly inadequate transport service of the Indian Military System. Mr. Buchan describes the war in the Eastern Mediterranean, and spring on the Russian front. In dealing with 'The Political Situation' a clear account is given of the Sinn Fein rebellion and President Wilson's notes to Germany. The British line in the west, the Austrian attack in the Trentino, and the second battle of Verdun are dealt with in vivid chapters, and the account of the battle of Jutland is the most illuminating that we have seen. Fitting tribute is paid to Lord Kitchener—'the most dominant personality in the Empire, and the greatest of Britain's public servants.' The history loses none of its freshness and force, though it is in its fourteenth volume.

Mr. Buchan has also written an account of *The Battle of Jutland* (Nelson & Sons. 3d.), which follows the engagement from first to last, and shows how splendidly officers and men did their work. The sketch is published by authority, and well bears out Sir John Jellicoe's words: 'I cannot adequately express the pride with which the spirit of the fleet filled me.'

Tales of the Great War. By Henry Newbolt. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.)

This book is written for boys. Sir Henry Newbolt makes them feel how heroic are the deeds that lie behind these stories. He begins with the subaltern who finds his way to the trenches south of Ypres, where he does his part with a courage and patience that show what stuff English lads are made of. Then we watch the battles of Coronel and the Falklands, follow the exploits of the *Emden*, and see Smith-Dorrien save his army in the retreat from Mons. The war in the air and the Zeppelin Campaign are described in a way that will make boys hold their breath. Then we follow the battle of Jutland by the help of dispatches and letters. Seven coloured plates and thirty-two illustrations in black and white add much to the attraction of a powerful and picturesque book, which will feed the flame of patriotism in every reader's heart.

In Luxembourg in War Time. By Francis Gribble. (Headley Bros. 5s. net.)

Mr. Gribble was in Vianden when the Germans occupied the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and gives a vivid account of his experience. Murder and arson did not figure in the occupation as in Belgium, but it is the story 'of the arrogance of a bully who found no adequate excuse for brutality.' The Luxemburgers knew that the Germans would violate their neutrality. Family tradition had made their young mistress too fond of the Prussians, but they were under no illusions. The Crown Prince was for them 'always the grotesque Don Juan.' Mr. Gribble never heard a story which showed the Prussians in an amiable light. Many ladies were willing to nurse French, English, or Belgian wounded, but declined to have anything to do with Germans. The uniform of the German officer seems to offer a 'presumption that he will be unable to keep his hands from picking and stealing.' The book is scathing.

Germany in Defeat: Third Phase. By Count Charles de Souza. (Kegan Paul. 6s.)

This work will greatly assist the careful reader to obtain a grasp of the strategy of the Great War. Of quite absorbing interest is the study of the Galician Campaign of 1914—a striking success all too quickly followed by the great retreat and the tragedy of Russian Poland. The treatment of this great episode is the best and most suggestive that we have seen. The causes of the catastrophe are unhesitatingly described as being due less to failure of munitions than to faulty strategy and the Grand Duke's failure to turn to the best account the resources which he actually did possess. Interesting as it would be, detailed discussion of this point is here quite out of the question. The considered criticisms of the Allied policy in the Near East is of great interest, and the exposition of the inner

significance of the battle of Verdun and of Joffre's strategy in general. Various points seem open to discussion ; but that adds interest to a work which has impressed us in each of its three phases as a most valuable contribution to the literature of the Great War.

Heroines of the World-War. By E. W. Walters. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.) This is a very attractive book. Mr. Walters has chosen his heroines in a way that brings out woman's work in the Allied countries, and he has done this with a sympathy and literary skill that will make a deep impression on all his readers. Nurse Cavell, Mrs. Dearmer, Miss Phyllis Campbell, Sister Myra Ivanovna and Sister Martin-Nicholson are the prominent figures in this noble gallery of portraits.—*We.* By Gerald Stanley Lee. (Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.) This book describes itself in its title page as 'a study of what England and Europe can expect of America during and after the war. A vow of the American people to the world and a confession of their faith in the people of all nations.' It is a very American production, with much outspoken discussion of Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Ford, Mr. Rockefeller, and Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Lee is utterly opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's 'preparedness.' 'For America to swerve out of its whole national policy, and arm itself to the teeth to express its fear of Germany on account of Belgium is a monstrous misjudgement of what German human nature is like.' 'We must prepare ourselves in thought and action to make America the clearing-house of all peoples. We will make our Capitol at Washington a kind of temple to which the tired nations may come to think and pray.'—*The Verdict of India.* By Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2d.) Germany accuses us of grossly misgoverning India, and this exposure of her campaign of Defamation is most timely and effective. The verdict of India is altogether on our side. Its people are proud to be British citizens, and by that right they hope to revive the ancient glory of their motherland.—*The Great Assize.* By William S. Rollings. (Allenson. 3s. 6d. net.) This set of war studies comes from New Zealand. The evil influence of Bismarck, the Kaiser, Nietzsche, and Treitschke is skilfully brought out. Germany had made soldiering 'the way of life,' and her thinkers have forged prodigious logical weapons by which they have 'made a complete conquest of the German mind for this ideal.' It is a suggestive and high-spirited treatment of the whole subject.—*True Illustrations from the War.* (Allenson. 1s. net.) These incidents have been compiled by the Rev. J. E. Compton chiefly from newspapers. They are of very great interest and variety.

GENERAL

An Evening in my Library among the English Poets. By the Hon. Stephen Coleridge. (John Lane. 3s. 6d. net.)

MR. COLERIDGE says he has lived all his life in libraries, first in his father's, which was magnificent, and afterwards in his own, which is precious. Into the latter he here bids us welcome, and every moment is one of pure pleasure. He quotes his favourite poets freely, giving us not a line or two but often a whole poem. He has his strong dislike for rudeness and coarseness, and thinks that had Rupert Brooke lived he would have turned his back on his grossness, and given us more of the sweet and wholesome verse that he knew so well how to write. A passage of Whitman's 'Song of the Broad Axe' is described as 'an idiotic catalogue of words,' and John Massfield's 'pot-house oaths and brutal realism' he cannot bear. Browning comes in for severe censure, but Tennyson has full share of worship. There is many a racy criticism, and the humanitarian peeps out from not a few of them. Pleasant tribute is paid to George MacDonald: 'It must always be more personally blessed to be something stainless and beautiful than to write it.' It is a volume full of lovely verse, and one that will not only give unalloyed pleasure but will cultivate a taste for the sweetest and purest poetry.

Curiosities, in Proverbs. Classified and arranged with Annotations by Dwight Edwards Martin. (Putnam's Sons. \$1.75 net.)

More than two thousand proverbs from seventy languages and dialects are here arranged in groups with notes on their meaning and illustrative passages. The introduction, forty pages in length, is full of interesting matter. John Heywood said 350 years ago that every proverb had the essential qualities of brevity, sensibility, and saltiness, but Scotland has a proverb of thirty-nine words, Germany one of fifty-seven. India has a proverb with sixty-two words and China one with ninety-six. Six hundred years ago men admonished each other not to look a gift horse in the mouth and two thousand years since they said, 'A fool shineth no longer than he holds his tongue.' Every side of the subject is discussed on this refreshing introduction. There are witty proverbs which find the chinks in every one's armour, and proverbs which almost give each other the lie. Animal proverbs abound. There is scarcely any limit to those which have been derived from the camel. Weather proverbs and health proverbs have their own interest. Mr. Martin's pages on 'National Characteristics' as seen in proverbs are full of suggestion. Bulgarian

proverbs are sombre, almost despairing ; those of Japan are humorous and full of figurative expressions. America has few proverbs. The notes are excellent. That on sneezing is very full. On the mote of Matt. vii. 3, there are two pages of illustrative sayings. In another note there is an appalling list of proverbs on hypocrisy. The rhyming proverbs tempt quotation, but so does every page of this racy collection. It has lists of authorities and authors quoted, and a very good index. Mr. Martin has given us a delightful book.

Surnames. By Ernest Weekley, M.A. (Murray. 6s. net.)

Prof. Weekley has already given us two valuable volumes, *The Romance of Words* and *The Romance of Names*, which are both popular and scientific. He here deals with a subject which is not less full of romance. For some years he has been engaged on a *Dictionary of English Surnames*, from which this work is an offshoot. It treats of certain groups of surnames which have been 'investigated with some approach to thoroughness.' About 6,000 surnames are dealt with. Many names of etymological interest which have not been mentioned by earlier writers, and hardly any of which have hitherto been explained, are included in the survey. There are chapters on French and German names, and Prof. Weekley gives some of the data on which his theories are based. The study of English surnames has been a happy hunting-ground for the unauthorized amateur. It must be regional, and a great historical dictionary of surnames can only be compiled when the names of every county have been scientifically studied. The casualty lists of this war show that Peverall is found in the Sherwood Foresters, largely recruited from the Peak district; Paston occurs in the Norfolk Regiment. Prof. Weekley's own name is derived from a village in Northants. 'It is among the rank and file that we find the great Norman names (*Marmion, Maltravers, &c.*), which have almost disappeared from the peerage.' The subject is treated in the most instructive and entertaining way. The book is certainly one to have in constant use.

The Birds of Shakespeare. By Sir Archibald Geikie. (Maclehose & Sons. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book was prepared as a Presidential address to the Haslemere Natural History Society. Sir Archibald sets himself to show that Shakespeare's delight in birds and bird-music was not less keen than that of Chaucer and the earlier poets, and at the same time to point out how detailed was his acquaintance with birds. His references show that Shakespeare was well versed in all the arts for the capture of birds, and had mastered the craft of falconry. He was born in one of the pleasantest and most varied districts of England, and heaths and woodlands extended almost up to the outskirts of London in his day. 'The beauty and fragrantcy of flowers and woods, the movement and music of birds were a joy to him.' He mentions about fifty birds. Some are referred to only once, others are mentioned forty

or fifty times. Sir Archibald quotes the chief passages, and gives references to the plays or poems in which they appear. Shakespeare does not do justice to the clear notes of the wren, but the lark seems to have been his favourite songster, and he admired the courage and sociable instincts of the house-martin. A little study of the bird poetry of Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley closes this delightful book. It has twenty full-page engravings from Yarrell's *British Birds*, which have a charm of their own.

The Aeneid of Virgil. Vol. I. Books i.-iii. By A. S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Way has followed up his translation of Virgil's *Georgics* by a translation of the first three books of the *Aeneid* similarly arranged, with the Latin text on one side and the English verse rendering on the other. This is the best of all possible methods of presenting the classics to the English reader, and it is surprising that it has had to wait so long for adoption. Dr. Way's reputation is well established, and we need not waste time in referring to features of his work now universally recognized—skilfulness, faithfulness, and spiritedness. The English hexameter can never be the same as the Latin, but in Dr. Way's hands it is made to achieve good results. He has managed the rhymes well—for the hexameter endings are rhymed—and if here and there dignity is sacrificed to literalness, he has on the whole won considerable success in an enormously difficult task. The endings of the original lines are invariably strong and emphatic—a feature which a translator who has to depend by the exigency of rhyme on auxiliary verbs, adverbs, and other monosyllabic devices finds it difficult to reproduce. But this is only one illustration of the utterly distinctive genius of the two languages, and the translator's attempt to catch the Virgilian spirit and art is often something of a forlorn hope. Dr. Way's version, however, overcomes many a difficulty with admirable skill; and at a time when the solace of great literature is so potent, it is to be hoped that his work will induce a host of readers to make a study of the whole of the *Aeneid*.

The Cross in Modern Art. By John Linton, M.A. (Duckworth & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Linton has selected twelve well-known paintings by Ford Madox Brown, D. G. Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt and Watts, and on these he bases his studies. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelites 'lay less in the creation of a new School of Art, than in the noble and enduring expression they gave to the moral and spiritual forces of their generation.' In their religion the Cross is central, and they have brought it back into modern art. Mr. Linton thinks that in 'Christ washing Peter's feet' Madox Brown has given us a satisfying face of Christ, which reflects His sinlessness and sympathy, tenderness and strength, humility and kingliness. The chapters on Rossetti are very suggestive, and those given to G. F.

Watts are illuminating. It is a book which appeals strongly to all lovers of religious art. The illustrations are very skilfully reproduced.

Zionism and the Jewish Future. By Various Writers. Edited by H. Sacker. (Murray. 2s. 6d. net.)

In his Introduction to this volume Dr. Weizmann says that 'the modern world sets the Jew the problem of maintaining some sort of distinctive existence without the external props of territorial sovereignty and a political machinery, and the Jew sets the modern world the problem of finding for him a place in its social structure which shall enable him to live as a human being without demanding that he cease to be a Jew.' Zionism attacks the problem of the homelessness of the Jewish people. That does not mean that the Jews are all to be congregated in one place, but there are probably Jews enough who would be glad to help in laying the foundations of a new Jewish life in a Jewish land. What Zionism has done in this direction is shown in these papers. The beginnings are 'full of promise for the future.' The book is the best discussion of the whole subject that we have seen.

Faces in the Fire, and other Fancies. By F. W. Boreham. (Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is Mr. Boreham's fifth volume, but his stores are as rich as ever and as attractively set forth. Twenty-one years since he got his first glimpse of New Zealand. Not a soul knew him, and he knew no single soul. Now he sees in the fire crowds of faces of those with whom he shared his pleasures and toils and worship in those years. There are fancy-faces, too; the friends his pen has brought him, and if we mistake not this volume will swell the number. He captures us by his first page—'The Baby among the Bombshells.' 'Half the pleasure of welcoming a new-born baby is the absolute certainty that here you have a packet of amazing surprises.' There are twenty-five chapters in the book, and every one is a new sensation.

Trade Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East. By A. J. Macdonald, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.)

This volume was awarded the Maitland Prize at Cambridge in 1915. Sir Harry Johnston describes it in his Introduction as a 'thoroughly practical, common-sense book,' and it well deserves such praise from a great authority. Mr. Macdonald in his first chapter discusses trade and the native races, and reaches the conclusion that 'the only possible solution to the problems in Africa, China, and India lies in the application of ethical and religious pressure at the points of contact with the West. This will be a long process, but though religion works slowly, it works inevitably.' The labour problems of Africa are beset with difficulty. 'The great preliminary necessity is a better understanding between missionary and government

officials.' The liquor question is dealt with at considerable length. Every missionary enterprise should have its temperance society. This would form a vital point of contact with native ethical opinion. The problems of India and China are also discussed with sympathy and insight. Their solution rests in 'the quiet teaching of Christian ethic, and the inculcation of Christian practice.' Trade that brings ruin to the morals of backward peoples must be prohibited, and a better control exercised where natives are weak. The book is full of suggestions for traders, government officials, and friends of missions.

Lady Connie, by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s. net), is a story of Oxford dons and students, among whom the brilliant Lady Connie comes like a sunbeam. She is an orphan who has mixed in society at Rome, Florence, and Paris, and she makes no small sensation in Oxford. Douglas Falloen has met her abroad, and there is a strong affinity between the masterful undergraduate and the newcomer, but he wrecks his chances for a time by his behaviour to Radowitz, the Polish student, who irritates him by his exuberant ways. But out of the tragedy the lovers build up their happiness. It is a story that holds a reader fast from first to last, and the character studies are full of insight. Nora is a delight, and so is her father and Mrs. Mulholland.—*The Tutor's Story*. An unpublished novel by the late Charles Kingsley, revised and completed by his daughter, Lucas Malet. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s. net.) Here is an unexpected literary treasure. Kingsley left half of the story in manuscript, with hints and scenes which have helped his daughter to complete it. Lord Hartover is saved by his lame tutor, and turned into a noble fellow. Mr. Brownlow has a desperate task, but he carries it through with a tact and resource which finally win a great triumph. The French maid and the young lord's stepmother plot his ruin, and they almost succeed, but they are unmasked at last. Nellie Braithwaite will prove a splendid countess, and there are good days coming for Hover. The fox-hunt in which the tutor proves his mettle, the life at Cambridge and at Hover are described with rare insight.—*Watermeads*. By A. Marshall. (Stanley Paul. 6s.). This is the chronicle of a crowded year in the life of a country squire and his family. Two daughters are married; the eldest son is saved from a mistaken engagement, and finds an ideal wife in the old Vicar's daughter. The Squire himself is a true Englishman with a wife who sorely tries his patience and that of his friends.—In *Brotherhood Stories* (Allenson. 2s. net) Ramsay Guthrie describes a set of wonderful conversions. The members are all alive, and the way in which they pray and work is told with rare skill and sympathy.—Among illustrated books special praise must be given to *A Christmas Carol* and *Alice in Wonderland* (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net), which Mr. Gordon Robinson has illustrated with full-page plates in colour and numerous pen-and-ink sketches. The spirit of the stories has been caught with great skill, and every illustration is a piece of dainty work.—*Honour against Odds*, by Ernest Protheroe (Kelly. 3s. 6d.), is one of the most

exciting boys' stories, and one that is as high-toned as it is exciting.—The *Early Days* volume for 1916 (Kelly. 2s. net) was never so full of good things. There is no better child's magazine.

Songs for Sufferers, by F. W. Orde Ward (Kelly. 6d. net), is a dainty booklet of exquisite verse intended for wounded soldiers and sailors, and for all who are in sorrow. It will bring new light and peace to every one who reads it. There is no need to dwell on Mr. Ward's gifts, which are so well known to readers of this REVIEW. He is a true poet, and every piece is not merely beautiful, but is full of thought and feeling.—*Finchley Press Poems*, by W. N. Stedman (6d.), are somewhat autobiographical. The poet's little sister is very tenderly sketched, and his 'Song of Easter Violets' has a beauty of its own. His preface interests us, for he holds that 'the only way, and the best, sometimes, to convince a fool that the power of God is in you, is to knock him down first and reason with him afterwards.' Mr. Stedman is evidently much alive.—*The Healing of the Nations*. This popular report of the Bible Society has a great story to tell. War is bringing a heavy strain on the resources of the Society, but it is opening doors for the Bible everywhere, and many testimonies are given as to the blessing it brings in the trenches and in hospitals. The Society never needed its friends more.—*Dreams*. By J. W. Wickar. (A. & F. Denny. 1s. net.) Dreams are probably nothing more or less than the revealing of past cerebral impressions. That is Mr. Wickar's view, and he illustrates it in a pleasant way.—*A Selection of Hymns with Tunes*. (Marshall Brothers. 6d. net.) These hymns and tunes are taken from a forthcoming work, 'The Church Hymnal for the Christian Year.' The selection is national, patriotic, devotional, and is intended for use during the war. There are 47 pieces, including Dr. Downes's 'God of our Fathers' and Mr. B. J. Dale's tune 'Brixham.' It is a choice selection, and ought to be of much service.—*Outline Missionary Talks and Stories*. By Emily E. Entwistle. (Allenson. 1s. net.) Eleven lives of missionaries are here given in copious outline which any speaker can use for addresses to children. Miss Entwistle is both an expert and an enthusiast, and her little book is full of matter skilfully arranged.—*The Profanity of Paint*. By William Kiddier. (A. C. Fifield.) This is a strange theme for a painter, but Mr. Kiddier makes us think. He says the aspen trembling 'for the tragedy of Golgotha' has made him shed many a tear. The aspens baffled his palette and made him sit on the grass in idle adoration. Colour seems to him the soul of things. In a painting everything should contribute in some special degree to the first idea. Critics 'cannot be of use to the born painter whose work is creative.' 'The painter must be judged, in the end, from his own point of view; it is the only moral judgement for an honest man.' All this is stimulating and it is beautifully put.—*The Sunday at Home, 1915-16* (R.T.S. 7s. 6d. net), is as varied and as attractive as ever. The war meets us on the first page of this annual volume, where 'The Heroism of Nurse and Doctor'

is shown by some moving incidents. There is a capital serial, many short stories, devotional papers by Dr. Watkinson and other well-known writers. From 'The Editor's Chair' we get many pleasant things. It is a volume packed with bright and pleasant papers, and it is skilfully illustrated.—*Honeybun, Others and Us*. By Irene H. Barnes. (C.M.S. 1s. 6d. net.) This set of visits to the Zoo will delight small folk. Aunt and niece make friends with the bears, elephants, monkeys, and tigers, who tell them stories afterwards on the telephone in the small hours about missionaries they have known. It is very quaint and arresting.—*The Flogging Craze*. By Henry S. Salt. (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. net.) Mr. Salt has been for a quarter of a century the Secretary of the Humanitarian League, and has drawn freely on the information amassed by the League. He deals with the flogging of juveniles and of adults, and with the lash as a purifier and a deterrent. The subject is discussed in all its bearings, and the conclusion is reached: This form of punishment 'must be uprooted and abandoned before any true measure of civilization can be attained.'—*Juvenile Immigration, 1914-15*. (Department of the Interior. Canada.) Mr. Bogue Smart, Chief Inspector of British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes in Canada, reports on 2,364 boys and girls who have come from Great Britain. The children are almost entirely taken by farmers. It is exceptional to find an old country boy earning his living in a town or city. The inspection showed that the children were well placed, healthy, well-behaved, and giving good satisfaction.—*The Lost Chord in the Swan Song of the Church*. By T. L. B. Westerdale. (Kelly. 3d. net.) This little book by a chaplain at the Front urges with much force and deep feeling that the lost chord of the Christian Evangel is the return of Jesus. His Church is to work with this goal in view.—*An Outline of Theosophy*, by C. W. Leadbeater, is published by the Theosophical Society (1s. net). It makes great claims, but it brings no evidence to support them. Re-incarnation is asserted without proof, and it is held that theosophy makes it absolutely clear 'that no undeserved suffering can ever come to any man.' We at least see no comfort there.—*The Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State* can now be had without the appendix for 6d. (S.P.C.K.) and an 8 p. Summary for 1d. These will be of great service to all who wish to study this important document.—The Methodist Diaries and Pocket Books, ranging from 10d. to 2s. 6d. net, are as well got-up and as skilfully prepared as ever. They will give daily satisfaction to ministers and laymen who use them.—*Further Talks to Boys and Girls*, by S. P. Bevan (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.), are admirable addresses full of good things.—Uncle Reg's *More Chum-Chats* (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net) are deliciously unconventional. They always warm one's heart.—*The Junior Leader's Annual, 1916-17* (Kelly, 9d. net.) gives fifty-two lessons for the year. Nothing could be fresher or more helpful.—*The Church and Women*, by John Lee (Longmans. 6d. net), is an address delivered at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. It is a powerful and timely discussion of the position due to women in the Church of Christ.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Edinburgh Review (October).—Dean Henson writes a pungent article on 'Church and State in England.' He says, 'It is the misfortune of the Church of England that the profound internal dissidence, which is really its salient characteristic, can never be formally recognized, and in all official proceedings is almost necessarily ignored.' The Tractarian Movement brought 'a change of attitude and temper, above all, of tendency. A rift was made which has steadily widened, until to-day the stability of the established system is visibly imperilled. There exists no longer any common agreement between Anglicans strong enough to harmonize differences of opinion, feeling, and habit in a common loyalty to the national Church.' Dean Henson complains that the report of the Archbishops' Committee 'abolishes the status of Nonconformity. Henceforth communion in a non-Anglican Church will disqualify for Anglican membership. Men must make their choice. Either Anglican or Dissenting. No union of a lesser with the larger membership will be tolerated. Any adequate knowledge of our religious history will compel the opinion that this is a very grave innovation. The history of Methodism may indicate that it is also highly unjust. In any case a large view of our national life will suggest that it is extremely impolitic. To force the National Church into the denominational groove is to limit its sphere of influence, to narrow its spirit, and to reduce its resources.' Mr. Gribble describes 'The Lorraine Frontier.' The French lost large part of their coal area to Germany in 1815, and for lack of it have had to sell her a great deal even of the iron which was left to them after 1871. When peace is made Germany must be deprived of the iron mines they formerly took from France and of the adjacent coalfields necessary to work those mines. Germany would not have enough iron to make a bid for the hegemony of Europe, and she would be dependent on her neighbours for the raw material of those industries in which her competition has been most formidable, and her 'dumping' most unscrupulous.

Dublin Review (October).—Mr. Wilfrid Ward's 'Memories and Reflections' deal with his childhood at Ware. His father had inherited the large family estates in the Isle of Wight and Hampshire, but he remained at Old Hall and lectured to the students in theology three times a week. 'The work of training the future soldiers of the Catholic Church in England fulfilled completely his ideal of life.' His children were brought up in an ecclesiastical atmosphere.

Mr. Shane Leslie writes on 'The Irish Scene,' and Dr. Hugh Pope gives a translation of the Penitential Psalms with some valuable notes.

Church Quarterly (October).—Dr. Headlam asks 'Where does the defect of the Church lie?' He thinks there must be a revival of intellectual keenness amongst the clergy, and that they must get into touch with their people. Fundamental change is not needed, but a new and keener spirit, a revived intellectual life, a grasp of Christianity in its completeness and its simplicity, a determination to be in living contact with the people. The Archdeacon of Aston writes on 'The New Testament and prayers for the departed,' which he regards as a duty that we owe 'to the totality of the mystical Body of Christ.' Mr. Masterman, rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, deals with 'The Problem of the London City Churches.'

The Political Quarterly (September).—Those who are responsible for the production of this review are engaged in national service, so that its issue has been suspended for six months, but continuity will be maintained as far as possible. Mr. Beer, in an article on 'Nationalism,' says 'the future course of world-history is largely dependent upon the ability of the statesmen throughout the entire Empire to establish permanent foundations for this as yet still somewhat inchoate world-wide commonwealth.'

The Constructive Quarterly (September).—Dean Inge writes on 'The Justice of God in History.' He says 'For the Christian nothing absolutely vital is at stake in any secular conflict.' 'It is social and moral disorders that kill nations. It is here, much more than in the history of international relations, that the old Jewish theodicy has its partial justification.' Dr. Parkes Cadman deals with 'Organic Unity.' 'A United Church would consecrate and invest the passional forces, which have had no previous outlet in religion, to better ends and purer results.' Everything points to 'one great need: an Ecclesia so secured in God, in the Risen Christ, and in religious history and experience, as to be capable of common life, common assertion, common control.'

The Round Table (December) deals with 'The Making of Peace.' Practically every one realizes that 'there is only one thing to do now, and that is to defeat at the appalling sacrifice of war, the attempt of the German Empire to seize control of the destinies of the people of Europe by the sword.' A very clear account is given of the German banking system and the financing of industry which will be necessary after the war. Other subjects of imperial interest are discussed in this fine number.

Hibbert Journal, October.—A Danish professor, J. P. Bang, contends in the first article that 'the root of the matter' which is troubling Europe is that Germans have persuaded themselves that

they are 'the only people who spiritually and morally stand so high that they may, nay *must*, allow themselves to employ any means, even immoral, to reach their goal—to rule the world and seal it with their impress.' We believe he is right, and that no end of the war will be a real end which does not put an end to this monstrous assumption. Which is another way of saying that the end is not near. President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, argues from the experience of the American Civil War that, unspeakably lamentable as the war is, the disintegration it causes will prove to be less lasting than is now feared, and the destruction it causes will be replaced with an almost incredible swiftness. Dr. W. Lock's account of the 'Literary method of the Fourth Gospel' is suggestive. He finds a 'poet-priest' in the Evangelist, an eyewitness and the disciple whom Jesus loved, who told the sacred story from a new point of view. Dr. Lock is prepared to admit that it is not easy in all details to distinguish the nucleus of John's reminiscences from what has grown up around them, but upon certain points his meaning is clear, strong, and worthy. C. A. Mercier, M.D., gives a dubious answer to the question 'Are we happier than our forefathers?' Among other things he does not believe that we are much happier for the abandonment of a belief in hell and a personal devil. Professor L. B. Paton draws an elaborate parallel between Assyria and Prussia, to the advantage of Assyria. Dr. H. T. Hodgkin's paper on 'Christian Internationalism' is timely and helpful—pacifism of the best sort.

Holborn Review, October.—A well-informed and discriminating paper by John Forster deals with the proposed 'Federation of the Free Churches.' He thinks that the success of the movement largely depends on the action of Wesleyan Methodism. He commends the working of the United Committee on Methodist Concerted Action as a type of the way in which real Free Church Federation should work. Articles on general subjects are 'Mr. Hardy's Philosophy' by E. Pittwood, 'The Religion of Richard Wagner' by C. A. Harris, and 'Thomas Ellwood and his Friends' by F. J. Sainty. The writer on Christian Science does not accept its teaching, but considers that the system has been 'a great and helpful revelation to many souls, who inheriting strong religious instincts from pious parents, have advanced out of orthodoxy without finding anything positive to put in its place.' 'The Unity of Transcendence and Immanence,' by E. Gibberd, is a large subject to be dealt with in five pages.

The Expository Times, October and November.—Dr. Moffatt, in an article on 'Jesus as Prisoner,' replies to arguments of Sir W. Ramsay and vindicates the position taken in his own D.C.G. article on 'The Trial of Jesus.' Canon Winterbotham's paper on 'Reunion with our Own in Another Life' is very unsatisfactory. What he calls the 'absolute silence' of the New Testament on the subject is susceptible of a very different interpretation from that which he gives. Professor Paterson in 'Providence and the War' discusses four leading inter-

pretations of the great visitation. The one on which it would be well for chief emphasis to be laid is that the great convulsion should be regarded as the dawning of new opportunities. Dr. McGillivray describes the Chinese 'Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible' and Dr. H. A. Kennedy 'The Covenant Conception in 1 John.' The Rev. George Jackson, in 'The Bookshelf by the Fire,' chats pleasantly to his readers concerning Izaak Walton.

International Review of Missions (October).—Prof. Mackintosh examines 'The Secret of Vitality in the Pauline Churches.' He thinks St. Paul's secret may be summarized in two words—Faith and the Spirit. Dr. Sailer gives his Impressions of Education in the Far East. A great work has been done, but a new educational era is opening with greater opportunities and keener competition.

Calcutta Review (July).—Sir D. M. Hamilton writes on 'India: her present and her future.' He says that financially the people stand where they did when British rule began. They want a banking system which will provide credit. The lack of it is 'a chief cause of unemployment and unrest among the classes.' The Russian government is fostering the co-operative system, and we need to do much more in that direction for India. We might safely issue fifty millions of credit, and thus give employment to a few thousand picked youths. The extortionate money-lender must disappear if India is to prosper.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review (October).—In 'A Review of Italian Modernism,' Signor la Piana says its true nature and spirit can only be understood by going back to the history of the intellectual and moral life of the Italian clergy since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. When the papacy lost its temporal power, an act was passed abolishing religious orders and ecclesiastical benefices in no connexion with care of souls, and transferring all their estates to the public domain, with the purpose of establishing schools and other educational institutions. Many convents in Italy had been reserved exclusively for members of the aristocracy. Bishops and high prelates were trained here. As soon as the Church lost its temporal power the aristocracy deserted the Church party, so that to-day there are very few of that class among the Italian prelates. The clergy are almost entirely recruited from the rural classes. Between 1870 and 1880 a kind of ascetic renaissance was visible among the young priests, monks, and friars. But the rise of the moral level of the younger clergy was accompanied by a decline of interest in culture. Leo XIII succeeded in imposing the scholastic philosophy on the clergy, and formed a strong Catholic political party. He gave his blessing to Christian democracy, but discovered that instead of adapting itself to Christianity in conformity with the interests of the

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papacy, it was going to adapt to itself to Christian ideals as against the papal interests. He took several steps backwards, though he did not pronounce the definitive condemnation of democracy. Everything, however, was ready for its execution, and in carrying that out Pius X was but his testamentary trustee.

Bibliotheca Sacra (October).—Dr. Bixby writes on 'Recent Science and the Soul's Survival.' The war has brought a longing for the consolation of faith in the survival of the soul. 'In anti-clerical France, the consciousness of a spirit in man surged up in a surprising way in the hearts of classes lately quite sceptical, if not downrightly materialistic.' Foremost Socialists have expressed their belief that 'behind nature there is a Power unseen but felt.' If there was not something beyond death, life on earth would be 'mere wastage.' That the soul dies out like a flame is 'not only morally unthinkable but scientifically incredible.'

American Journal of Theology, October.—Dr. James Moffatt opens with a paper on 'The Influence of the War upon the Religious Life and Thought in Great Britain.' He thinks it premature to judge as yet, but believes that the influence 'will not be nearly so powerful as an outsider might expect.' A. W. Anthony writes on 'The New Interdenominationalism,' a very instructive article describing the present situation in America. We regret that we cannot summarize it. He says, 'The mere mechanics of federation are least important—Spiritual qualities are supreme.' We would that this were already true, and hope it may become so. 'Origin and Validity in Religion' is discussed by a well-known Oxford scholar, R. R. Marett. Coming from such a man, the following words are noteworthy—'Religion is in evolution, nay is the very rationale of evolution. . . . It is such a faith, I believe, that validates religion.' Other articles are 'Buddhistic Influence in the New Testament,' by Professor Carl Clemen—which is like a certain famous chapter on 'Snakes in Iceland'; 'The meaning of Charity,' by E. Jordan; and 'Spirit, Soul, and Flesh' (continued), by Prof. E. D. Burton.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) October.—Contains interesting reminiscences of Dr. Gross Alexander, by his son; a translation of the Sumerian Epic of Paradise, by W. W. Martin; 'The Failure of Secularism,' by W. Harrison; 'The Catholicity of Methodism,' by W. J. Conoly; Shakespeare's Tercentenary, by E. Ridley; and ten other articles—a fairly good number.

Review and Expositor (Louisville) October.—The chief article is by Professor Saccardi of Rome on 'The Secret History of Modernism in the Vatican,' unfolding the darker side of the Pontificate of Pius X, and the underhand work of his ignoble and evil counsellors. Dr. E. B. Pollard writes on 'The War Spirit,' Professor Gaines on 'The Layman and his Church,' and Dr. W. Cullom on 'The Challenge of an Unfinished World.'

